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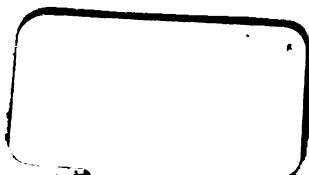


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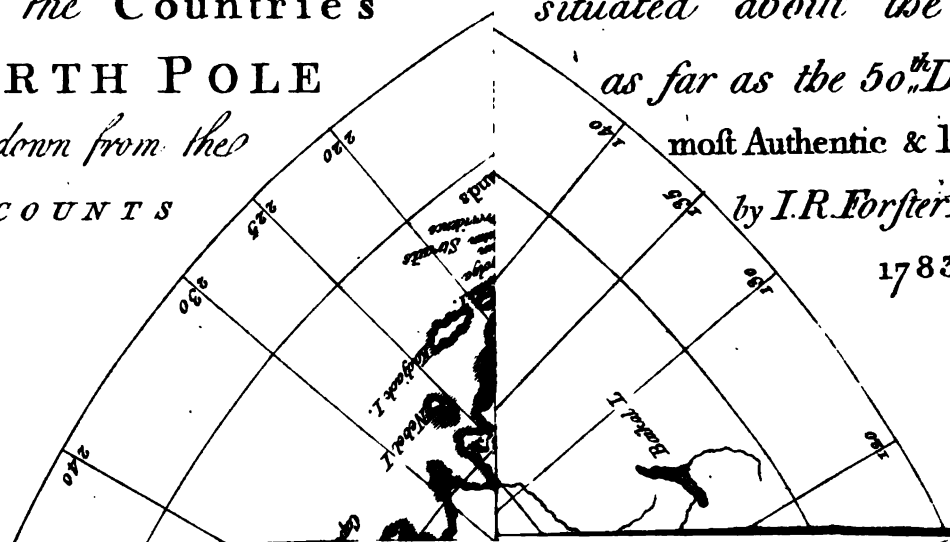
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1783.



H I S T O R Y

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D I S C O V E R I E S

M A D E I N T H E

N O R T H.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, I.U.D.

AND ELUCIDATED BY SEVERAL

NEW AND ORIGINAL MAPS.

Orbis situm dicere . . . impeditum opus et facundiæ minime capax . . . verum aspici tamen cognoscique dignissimum.

POMPONIIUS MELA *in Prooemio.*

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P R E F A C E.

The TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Author of the work, of which the following sheets are a translation, is too well known to stand in need of any recommendation to the public. That he had, for a long time previous to this publication, made the Northern Geography of Europe his particular study, we are informed by the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, in the Preface to his elegant Edition of Alfred's Orosius. If, to this consideration, we add the circumstance of his having himself made a long and successful voyage of discovery in the coldest climates, his multifarious erudition, and more particularly his great acquisitions in natural science, we shall be ready to own, that it would not be very easy to find a Historian fitter to record the Northern Discoveries, than the Writer of the present compilation.

The subject is confessedly of the greatest importance; and, though treated in a very different manner, bears a strong affinity to that of the justly-admired *History of the European Settlements*, to which, if it is inferior in point of stile and rhetorical ornaments, it will perhaps be found equal in profundity of reflection and philosophical investigation, and superior with respect to accuracy and extent of information.—Er-

rors there must be in every human undertaking, and consequently this compilation is not without its share. Many of these have been rectified in silence by the Translator, who has carefully compared almost every page with the original writers, whence this work is chiefly extracted. Other mistakes of his Author he has openly noticed, and that principally for the sake of foreigners, and those who have read the book in its original language. Such is the note to page 341, in which, however, the Translator has perhaps gone too far in asserting, that the anecdote there referred to has not even the shadow of truth to support it. In fact, he rather supposes, on the contrary, that Dr. Forster himself, or else (which is more probable) his informers have, by confounding two different stories, inadvertently blended truth with falsehood, and thus rendered the whole anecdote subject to contradiction.

The Translator has likewise omitted a long note full of invective against Mr. Barrington, as he could by no means prevail on himself to make the following sheets, which were so happily calculated for instruction and innocent amusement, the vehicles of abuse and calumny.—Mr. B. it seems, neglected to mention Dr. Forster's name in his edition of Alfred's Orosius, probably for the same reason as he omitted to mention the name of the person who laid down the map for the Spanish Voyage, published in his Miscellanies, viz. because he did not attach any high degree of glory to the business of map-making, and was conscious of his right to publish what he had purchased. This omission, however, might have been considered in some measure as blameable, had not the Doctor himself, by a silence of more than eleven years, entirely exculpated him in this respect. Why Mr. B. did not own the obligation afterwards in his Miscellanies, is a question that no one perhaps but Dr. F. will ask. Again, why the Doctor did not claim his property before, he himself best knows, and perhaps may
not

not wish any one to enquire. Mr. B. in his Preface to his Version of Alfred's Orosius, has done ample justice to Dr. F.'s remarks. The map was not worth contending for; but if it were, no one would be disposed to dispute it with the author of those excellent remarks.

Of Mr. B—'s Version the Translator has made a free use in the following pages, excepting in those few passages in which it differs from that of Dr. Forster.

The AUTHOR'S P R E F A C E.

THE work here offered to the public is of a very different kind from those with which it is continually pestered, and which are the joint produce of illiterate writers and greedy booksellers. This, on the contrary, has employed the whole of my attention and industry for these last eighteen months; though, like every other production of human nature, it still has its faults and imperfections.

The numerous researches, upon which, more especially in the ancient part and that relative to the middle ages, I was obliged to enter, the multifarious departments of learning from which I have derived some of the following notes and remarks, the orthography of a proper name, the expression of a number, may appear at present very easy to many of my readers; and perhaps I shall hardly gain credit for the assertion, or at least it may be considered as a mere boast, when I confess that a short annotation, the proper name of a place or person, or the expression of a number, has frequently cost me whole hours, and sometimes days.

Not content with merely stating facts, I was also desirous to place them in the clearest light. With this view I have laid down three new maps.—The first, which exhibits the countries about the North Pole as far as the 50th, and in some places, the 45th degree, comprizes the latest discoveries, with tolerable accuracy and precision; and must on that account, it is presumed, merit the preference to all others

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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others of the kind.—The second map was drawn up by my son and me together in 1772, for the purpose of illustrating the Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, published the year afterwards by the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, who has since that time, in a very ungentleman-like manner, attempted to pass it on the public for his own. So that I have in this case done no more than reclaim my own property. But, besides this, I have made in the map considerable improvements and corrections, which, on better information, appeared to me to be necessary.—The third and last map is entirely new, and comprizes the results of a great number of critical researches, which are too numerous to be particularized even in the work itself, and still less in the Preface. The map is intended to exhibit the geography of the middle ages, relative to the parts therein mentioned. The names of the towns and cities founded and built long after that period, are introduced with a very sparing hand, and indeed merely with a view to give the reader a certain fixed point, by means of which he may be the better able to convince himself of the real place of residence of this or that nation.

As this work contains a great number of proper names as well as facts, I thought proper to annex at the end of it a very complete Index, of the great utility of which I was perfectly convinced by the recollection that, for the sake of finding some short trifling passage, I have often found myself under the necessity of reading the major part of a book.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG all the discoveries which have tended to enlighten mankind, to promote commerce, and to advance Europe to the glorious zenith of power and refinement in which it appears at present, navigation has indisputably contributed much, if not more than all the rest. On this account alone, even were we not to consider the numerous, bold, and curious manœuvres, and the grand, though minute and complicated mechanism which it constantly displays, it might justly claim an exalted place, if not a distinctive preference amongst the arts. We commonly regard sailors merely as a rustic and unpolished race of men: visiting, as they do, many different countries, and those frequently at a great distance from each other, their dress cannot, without much trouble, be any where in the fashion, neither can they be expected, nor indeed would it be rational for men in their situation to attend to elegance and finery, rather than to convenience and ease. This singularity of appearance is alone sufficient to render them ridiculous in the eyes of the more polished inhabitants of towns and cities, and the plain and homely manners which they generally contract in long voyages, secluded as they are from the rest of mankind, are apt to inspire some of the most refined amongst us with disgust; whence, the transition is easy to an utter contempt of their way of life, as also
of

of this very useful profession which connects the most distant parts of the world in the bands of society and concord.

Of all the arts and professions which have at any time attracted my notice, none has ever appeared to me more astonishing and marvellous than that of navigation, in the state in which it is at present, an art which doubtless affords one of the most certain and irrefragable proofs of the amazing powers of the human understanding. This cannot be made more evident, than when, taking a retrospective view of the tottering, inartificial craft, to which navigation owes its origin, we compare it with a noble and majestic edifice, containing 1000 men, together with their provisions, drink, furniture, wearing apparel, and other necessaries for many months, besides 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and bearing all this vast apparatus safely, and as it were on the wings of the wind, across immense seas to the most distant shores. We are so much accustomed to talk and to judge of many different subjects in the gross, that such particular and decomposed ideas as these occur to us but seldom; and very frequently we are not possessed of a sufficient degree of speculative knowledge to be able to trace an idea of this kind up to first principles. The following example may serve for the present to delineate at full length, as it were, the idea above alluded to. But first I must premise, that a huge, unwieldy log of wood, with the greatest difficulty, and in the most uncouth manner, hollowed out on the inside, and somewhat pointed at both ends, and in this guise set on a river, for the purpose of transporting two or three persons belonging to one and the same family across a piece of water a few feet deep, by the assistance of a pole pushed against the ground, cannot with any propriety be considered as the image of navigation in its first and earliest state. For it seems evident to me, that people in the beginning only took three or four trunks of trees, and fastened them together, and then,

then, by means of this kind of raft, got across such waters as were too deep for them to ford over, and across which they could not well swim with their children and various kinds of goods which they might wish to preserve from being wet. The canoe, however, is a specimen of the art in a more advanced state, as this kind of craft is capable of having direction given to it, and even of so capital an improvement as that of having a sail added to it. For which reason I chuse this vehicle for a standard, in preference to a mere raft, to which, imperfect as it is, it is so much superior. Let us, then, compare this with a large majestic floating edifice, the result of the ingenuity and united labour of many hundreds of hands, and composed of a great number of well-proportioned pieces, nicely fastened together by means of iron nails and bolts, and rendered so tight with tow and pitch, that no water can penetrate into it. Now, in order to give motion and direction to this enormous machine, some astonishingly-lofty pieces of timber have been fixed upright in it, and so many moveable cross pieces have been added to it, together with such a variety of pieces of strong linen cloth, for the purpose of catching the wind and of receiving its impulse and propelling power, that the number of them amounts to upwards of 30. For changing the direction of these yards and sails, according to particular circumstances, it has also been requisite to add a vast quantity of cordage and tackling, and nevertheless, even all this would not be sufficient for the perfect direction and government of the vessel, if there was not fastened to the hinder part of it, by means of hinges and hooks, a moveable piece of wood, very small indeed in proportion to the whole machine; but the least inclination of which to either side is sufficient to give immediately a different direction to this enormous large mass, and that even in a storm, so that two men may direct and govern this swimming island with the same or rather with greater ease than a single man can do a boat. But if, besides, we consider that, in a

vessel like this, not a single piece is put in at random, but that every part of it has its determinate measure and proportion, and is fixed precisely in that place which is the most advantageous for it; that, throughout every part of it, there is distributed an astonishing quantity of blocks, stays, and pulleys, for the purpose of diminishing the friction, and of accelerating the motion of these parts; that even the bellying and vaulted part of the fabric, together with its sharp termination underneath, are proportioned according to the nicest calculations and the most accurately determined rules; that the length and the thickness of the masts, the size of the booms and yards, the length, width, and strength of the sails and tackling are all in due proportion to one another, according to certain rules founded upon the principles of motion: when we consider all this, I say, our admiration increases more and more at this great master-piece of human power and understanding. Still, however, there are wanting a few traits to complete this description. A man in health consumes, in the space of 24 hours, about 8 pounds of victuals and drink; consequently 8000 lb. of provisions are required per day in such a ship. Now let us suppose her to be fitted out for 3 months only, and we shall find that she must be laden with 720,000 lb. of provisions. A large 42-pounder weighs about 6100 lb. if made of brass, and about 5500 lb. if of iron; and generally there are 28 or 30 of these on board a ship of 100 guns, the weight of which, exclusive of that of their carriages, amounts to 183,000 lb.: on the second deck there are 30 twenty-four pounders, each of which weigh about 5100 lb. and therefore all together, 153,000 lb. and the weight of the 26 or 28 twelve-pounders on the lower deck amounts to about 75,400 lb.; that of the 14 six-pounders on the upper deck, to about 26,600 lb.; and besides that, on the round tops even there are

three-pounders and swivels. Now, if to this we add, that the complete charge of a forty-two pounder weighs about 64lb. and that at least upwards of 100 charges are required for each gun, we shall find this to amount nearly to the same weight as the guns themselves. In addition to this we must reflect, that every ship must have, by way of providing against exigencies, at least another set of sails, cables, cordage, and tackling, which altogether amount to a considerable weight. The stores likewise consisting of planks, pitch, and tow; the chests belonging to the officers and sailors; the surgeon's stores, and various other articles requisite on a long voyage; as also the small arms, bayonets, swords, and pistols, are no inconsiderable load; to which we must finally add the weight of the crew, which is not very trifling, so that one of these large ships carries at least 2162 tons burthen, or 4,324,000 lb. and at the same time is steered and governed with as much ease as the smallest boat. Now, the consideration of these circumstances alone are sufficient to excite the most serious reflections in a contemplative mind; and yet, if such a ship sailed along the coast only, and never lost sight of the shore, as the navigators of old used to do, we might still be tempted to look upon navigation as an easy and trifling business. But the finding the straightest and shortest way over an ocean of more than 60 or 80 degrees in longitude, and 30 or 40 in latitude; or across a tract from 4000 to 6000 miles in extent, by day or by night, in fair weather or in foul, as well when the sky is overcast, as when it is clear, and often with no other guide than the compass (which does not even point directly to the north in all places) and the being able to determine the true position of the ship at sea by the height of the sun, though this latter be enveloped in clouds, or to direct one's course by the moon and the stars with such exactness and precision, as not to make a mistake of the value of half a degree or 30 miles; this at least shews the progress and great perfection of an art practised by a set of people of

whose understandings many conceited and supercilious landmen have but a mean opinion, and whose plain and simple manners they frequently take the liberty of turning into ridicule.

A violent storm of wind will make us tremble with fear, even in a strong well-built house, and in the midst of a populous city; yet we have seldom or never either seen or experienced the vast power of the enraged waves, when beat about by the winds, and dashed against each other, till they seem transformed into froth and vapour, and the whole surface of the ocean presents to the eye a confused scene of immense watery mountains, and bottomless precipices; and yet on such a sea as this the true seaman, provided he has but a good ship, rides with calm and unshaken courage, and thinks himself as safe in the midst of the ocean as in the best fortified castle.

This art, carried to that height of perfection in which we have described it, closely connects the most distant regions, furnishes the houses and spreads the tables of the luxurious natives of Europe with the rarities, dainties, and treasures of both the Indies, bears protection and safety to the remotest shores, and diffuses terror and destruction beyond the most extensive seas. In short, it is the greatest and most astonishing of all human inventions, and produced by the most vigorous exertion of the intellectual faculties of man, whom, in despite of his natural debility and feebleness, it must necessarily inspire with the highest degree of pride, were he not, on other accounts, but too liable to that failing.

It is, however, gradually, and by little and little only that this art has attained to that degree of perfection in which it now subsists, after having for whole ages before advanced towards it with a slow and almost imperceptible pace. A minute enquiry into the whole system of nature; into the powers of the loadstone; into the nature of the planets; their determinate periodical revolutions; their influence upon each

each other, and upon the winds and tides ; a more accurate knowledge of the nature of the air ; of its periodical currents ; of its constituent parts, and of the various density of its different strata ; a knowledge of the difference of the gravitating power at the different parts of the earth ; and of many other sciences, in which by the help of the mathematics in these later times only, considerable advances have been made, have also of late greatly contributed towards the perfection of navigation ; and as undoubtedly these sciences are very far from having as yet arrived at their highest pitch, they must of course receive a daily increase, and by consequence likewise continually impart new improvements to this art.

Before navigation could attain to its present perfection, it must have advanced slowly through many successive gradations ; and how rude and imperfect must it have been above 2000 years ago ? How contracted and limited also must the ideas of mankind have been with regard to foreign countries and nations ? This our northern part of the globe, however, and Europe, began at an early period to contribute to the extension of human knowledge in relation to foreign countries and nations, by means of voyages of discovery, by commerce and by conquest. These three sources of the enlargement of our knowledge of people and countries I mention together, because we are used with an implicit confidence to repeat after the great Montesquieu (a), “ that countries are now discovered by voyages on the sea, but that formerly the sea was discovered by the conquest of countries.” And I may with great justice add mere chance likewise, as a source not less fruitful than the former. The peopling of the islands in the South Sea by a Malayan nation, is perhaps to be attributed to mere accident alone. They probably set out for a neighbouring island, in order to see their friends, and were driven by a storm to an island, of which they had not the least previous knowledge. When in the year 1774, we landed for the second time at *Huabeine*, we found three men and a woman from the island of *O-mateiva*, or *O-matea*, who in their boat had been cast away on this former island by a storm ; and Capt. *Cook*, in his last voyage in 1777, found in an island at a great distance

(a) *Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxi. c. 7.

from *O-raiedea*, three countrymen of *Omai*'s, who were the only survivors of 50 persons, the rest having been gradually destroyed by the storm, and by hunger and thirst.

In fact, voyages made for the gratification of curiosity, and for the extension of commerce, seem to have greatly contributed to the promotion of knowledge, and to the introduction of milder manners and customs into society. For it is highly-cultivated nations only, that explore distant countries and nations for the sake of commerce, in like manner as the seeking them for the gratification of curiosity, pre-supposes a still higher degree of cultivation and refinement.

On the other hand, the more rude and uncivilized, march armies into foreign territories for the sake of conquest. Though it cannot be denied, that even in this way, nations, which have arrived at a high degree of culture, have added considerably to the knowledge they were before possessed of, with respect to different nations and countries. All these are the varied means which an infinitely wise Being has appointed for the purpose of humanizing mankind, of drawing them, if I may so express myself, out of their native state of barbarism, and of diffusing amongst them the liberal arts and gentler courtesies of life. It is, however, by *Navigation* principally that we learn, that men and nations exist not for themselves alone, but likewise for the sake of others. In long and distant voyages the bands of society and friendship, too apt to be relaxed when we find ourselves independent, are cemented by our wants, of which it is impossible at that time not to be sensible. Urged by distress and hardship, we are then willing to receive the assistance we cannot do without, even from strangers. Our mutual necessities give rise to mutual favours and reciprocal benefits, till the gentle spirit of humanity and kindness, thus kindled from a spark of laudable self-interest, and gradually encreasing by repeated exertions, bursts forth at last into a glorious blaze of habitual benevolence and universal philanthropy.

Without voyages and without navigation, uncultivated and savage nations look upon themselves as the only, or at least as the principal, inhabitants of the earth.

The

The ancient inhabitants of our native country assumed the name of *Teutsche*, i. e. Germans, from the word *Thiud*, which signifies a people: Before other names were introduced, every habitable part of Egypt was called *Thebe* (b), from *θεβαις* (*Theveib*) the *habitation*. The people of Greenland call themselves *Innuít* men, i. e. natives, and the Kamtschadales assume the name of *Itel* men, or inhabitants; for the same reason the Europeans are likewise called by the Greenlanders *Kablunas*, i. e. *strangers*, or foreigners, in like manner as all strangers amongst the Moguls were termed *Uigur*, or *Jugur*. Thus, too, the *Sassen*, or *Saxons* intitled themselves the *constant, fixed inhabitants* of the country. And influenced by the same principles, the Chinese, who, though far from being in a state of high cultivation, are extremely proud and conceited, are of opinion that their country is the center of the universe, and that their nation is the only one, which on account of their knowledge and understanding may be said to have two eyes; whilst on the contrary, all other people on the earth have but one; as also that they are the *face* of the world; and other nations only the backside of it; or, as the French would say, *qu'ils appartiennent aux parties bonteuses du monde*. It is only in consequence of repeated intercourse between distant nations, that the knowledge of nations and countries has been developed: In the beginning, all the Slavonian nations were called *Sauromates*; when they became better known, it was found, that each tribe called itself in general *Slave*; or *Slave*, with another peculiar or specific name annexed to it, e. g. Russian, Polonian, Bohemian, Serbían, Polabian, Vandalian, Crobatian, and Bulgarian slaves:

The greater the distance of the discovered countries was from the respective seats of learning and civilization at any particular period; the longer time it was, before in consequence of repeated voyages and expeditions, any certain information concerning them was diffused through these more refined and cultivated parts of the world. But then this knowledge of distant nations and countries was likewise always in proportion to the state in which the discovering nation itself was, with re-

(b) Herodat. Lib. II. Cap. 15.

spect to learning, culture, and refinement of manners. It was at a late period only that the Romans learned that Great-Britain was an island; and even in the days of Homer, it was supposed that a total darkness pervaded *Crimea*, or the land of the *Cimmerians*, because in that country the nights were much longer than in Greece. The cold induced the *Arimaspians* to wrap themselves up during the winter in such a manner that there appeared but one aperture in their head-dress for them to look through; this circumstance gave occasion to the Bosphorian Scythians to inform Herodotus that these people had but one eye. In like manner, too, they told him, that beyond the country of the *Arimaspians* there was nothing but feathers, by which they meant nothing more than a great quantity of flakes of snow (c).

The most remote northern regions could not possibly have been discovered all at once, but only one after another, and by degrees; and so long as upwards of 3270 years ago, the Phenicians and Egyptians had some knowledge of *Tartessus*, or *Tarshish*, for at that time lived Moses, who makes mention of *Tarshish*; and Herodotus, who was alive so long as 2191 years ago, was acquainted, though imperfectly, with Great-Britain and Prussia. The first he knew to be the country of Tin, and the second that of Amber. So early as about 2106 years ago, Pytheas of Marfeilles had knowledge of the same countries, as also of *Thule*, or Iceland.

In less enlightened times, a great deal of this knowledge was lost, and accordingly in the time of *Vespasian*, the Romans thought they had made a great discovery, when they had found that Great-Britain was an island (d).

In still darker times, geographical knowledge became yet more contracted, till at length in our days new discoveries have been made, which have brought us better than ever acquainted with the North, and have left us little more to discover with respect to these regions.

(c) Herodot. L. IV. Cap. 27 and 31.

(d) Tacitus, vita Agricola.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

V O Y A G E S, &c.

B O O K I.

OF THE MOST ANCIENT DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH.

C H A P. I.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Phœnicians.

THE north was certainly not a region likely to be chosen by any people voluntarily and without compulsion for a habitation, as long as there was room for new colonies towards the east and the west. It might however happen that famine, dissensions with their countrymen, and many other causes, compelled several families and tribes to remove farther towards the north. For the greater degree of the cold of the winters there, the deficiency of such plants as grew spontaneously, and might be used for food, together with the earth being shut up by the frost for the space of many months, were sufficient to deter any race of people from making choice of those regions for their abode. Notwithstanding which, history informs us, that these countries were inhabited even at an early period.

It is, however, no less certain, that the notions entertained by the ancients, relative to the north and its inhabitants, or, as the Grecians usually called them, the *Hyperboreans*, were different at different periods. Accordingly it will be our endeavour, in the following pages, to shew, how this idea has been extended by degrees, in proportion as new discoveries were made in geography, and the different nations with which the earth was peopled, became better known.

It has been known from time immemorial, that the *Phœnicians* were the first people who attained to an extensive knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants; a knowledge which they acquired indeed by the great extent of their voyages and commerce. That we may be the better enabled to shew, with any tolerable degree of certainty, at how early a period the voyages of discovery made by the Phœnicians began, and how far they extended, it will be necessary for us to take a short view of the history of this people.

At a very early period of antiquity, there existed a race of men on the shores of the Red Sea, or of the most northerly part of the Arabian Gulph. They dwelt in caves formed by nature in the range of hills that ran along the sea-coast, and spread themselves also by degrees farther away from the sea-side into the deserts, where, in like manner, they inhabited indifferently, and without making any fixed settlement, every hole and cavity in the earth, nay, under every thorn [*Rhamnus Paliurus* Linn. & *Nabeca* Forskal] whose branches could afford them even a scanty shelter. They had neither cattle nor any kind of agriculture; but near the sea, lived on fish and other marine animals, and in the deserts on locusts, and on the tender tops and young shoots of broom, and some miserable, paltry fruits from off the few plants that grew wild in those parts. This wretched way of life procured them various names and appellations from their more polished and civilized neighbours. The Hebrews called them *Horites*, and the children of *Enak*; both which denominations had a reference to their living in holes and caves: and the Grecian name of *Troglodytes* is merely a translation of the former of these terms. From their diet they were likewise called in Greek *Ichthyophagi* or fish-eaters, *Acridophagi* or locust-eaters,

eaters, and *Hylophagi* or wood-eaters. This is an evident proof, that when they separated from the other tribes who were occupied in cultivating the earth and tending cattle, they were not upon good terms with them; and that, in all probability, they carried nothing with them, when they fled into the wilderness to avoid the effects of the displeasure and vengeance of their brethren. Consequently, they looked on all their neighbours in the light of enemies; and whoever went unarmed into the deserts which they inhabited, was sure to be robbed by them. On the other hand, whenever any one of this race went near the dwellings of the more civilized tribes, there was a general hue-and-cry raised immediately, which quickly obliged him to betake himself again to the wilderness. In the mean time necessity made them bold and inventive. They were the first to venture on the Red Sea, on a wretched float made of the sprays of trees fastened together, (*a*) in order to get their livelihood by fishing. By land they were obliged to range alone all over the deserts in quest of food; when, if they met with a woman of their race, she was per force obliged to satisfy their lust: the next thorn, or hollow in the rock, was their bedchamber; and none of them, in this case, ever spared even their nearest of kin. On this account the whole race was held in the greatest detestation by the other nations. It is thus likewise that they are described by Job (*b*), and the very same picture of this people we find in *Diodorus* (*c*).

Part of this people went so early as before the call of Abraham, into the *Land of Promise* (*d*). In this country they took from CANAAN, the father of their tribe, the name of *Canaanites*; a name they gave themselves in publick monuments * so late as after the victory of Alex-

(*a*) Plin. Lib. vii. c. 56.

(*b*) Job, chap. 30. v. 1—8.

(*c*) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Lib. iii. & Strabo. Geograph. Lib. xiv.

(*d*) Genesis, chap. 12. v. 6. 13, v. 7.

* The celebrated Mr. John Swinton in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Dec. 1760, p. 560, has given a description and drawing of a coin struck by the City of *Laodicea*, and bearing a Spanish or Phœnician inscription; on which coin *Laodicea* is called a *Mother-City*, or *Metropolis* in *Canaan*.

under the Great, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, which constitutes a period of more than 1742 years. The shepherds possessed the internal part of the country; and the part inhabited by the Canaanites extended from the lake of Genezareth quite to the Mediterranean. In this new habitation, commerce, together with the fabrication of a few articles of luxury and curiosity, was their chief employment, and what they subsisted by. This they carried to such an extent, that at last Canaanite and merchant became synonymous terms. To the Greeks this nation was known by the name of *Phœnicians*, a name, which this latter people probably bestowed on them on account of the palms (*φαινξ*) which grew in that country in great abundance*.

The establishment of their government, and their manners still retained a great deal of their primitive rude and wild state. To every little tribe they had a king or prince. The same spirit of freedom and independence, by which they were actuated in the wilderness and on the shores of the Red Sea, still remained with them at the time when they lived under the government of a prince in walled and fortified cities. Even so late as a thousand years after this, they were reproached with their licentiousness, impure desires, and shameful practice of promiscuous copulation; and in like manner the deceitfulness of their dispositions, their avarice, cruelty and perfidy became almost proverbial.

The wars of the *Elamitic* princes (*e*), together with the earthquake (*f*) which followed soon upon these wars, induced the few Horites, which still remained scattered on the shores of the Red Sea, to go over to their brethren in *Palestine*. Here their occupation, immediately after their arrival, was navigation and commerce (*g*); and they carried Egyptian and Assyrian commodities from one place to another in the Mediterranean. In the very first commencement of their navigation, they

* It is possible, however, that Esau's other name, *Edom*, which signifies *red*, and whom the Greeks have changed into a king *Erythras*, may have also contributed towards the appellation of *Phœnicians*; as *φαινξ* signifies likewise a red date-colour.

(*e*) Genesis, chap. 14. v. 1, 4.

(*f*) Genes. chap. 19. v. 24, 25, 28. Herodot. L. i. c. 1. & Justin. Lib. xviii. c. 3.

(*g*) Herodotus, l. c.

made use of *long ships*, and arrived at such an acquaintance with nations and countries, as at that period, in the infancy of the world, naturally astonished the rest of mankind. For about 600 years after Noah's flood, the navigations of the *Sidonians* in the Mediterranean, their trade, and the flourishing circumstances they were in in consequence of these, were so famous, as to be made mention of by the dying patriarch JACOB. (*b*)

Very early we find mention made of *Tarshish*, the Spanish *Tartessus* (*i*), as of a European people. For so far, at least, is true, that MOSES must have heard from the Phœnicians, that there actually existed such a people; which people, consequently, must have been visited by them. But this fact he learned in the flower of his age, when he was less than 40 years old, at the time when he accompanied the Egyptian King Sestoris in his grand expedition through Asia and Europe; consequently about 730 years after the deluge*. According to this calculation the Phœnicians had at that period extended their navigation as far as Spain, and even as far as to the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar; and by consequence they were acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean: for in those days, in all their voyages, navigators followed the coasts, and went to as little distance from it as possible. This distant navigation was continually extending; and, beyond the Straits, they went as well to the left hand and southwards along the coast of Africa, as likewise to the right hand and northwards along the coasts of Spain and Gaul, 'till they at last reached the British shore, and there found both *lead* and *tin*, both which metals were known so early as in the time of Moses (*k*). And these metals were, according to the universal testimony of the ancients, no where to be found but in the British islands (*l*). Accordingly they were

(*b*) Genes. chap. 49. v. 13.

(*i*) Genes. chap. 10. v. 4.

* Vide J. R. Forsteri Epistolæ ad Jo. Dav. Michaellem, hujus spicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ jam confirmantes, jam castigantes, p. 1—7, & p. 19—24.

(*k*) Numbers, chap. 31. v. 24.

(*l*) *Herodotus*, Lib. iii. cap. 115. where he confesses, that it was brought along with amber from the farthest extremity of Europe.

called the *Sorling* or *Scilly* islands; likewise the *Cassiterides*, or *Tin-islands*; and in the language of the country, this land is called *Bro*- or *Bræ-tain*, viz. the *land* of *tin*: an appellation which it preserved in the times of the Romans, and indeed has preserved it even to this day. Nay, as Pliny expressly says ** that a certain *Mydacritus* first brought lead and tin from the Cassiterian islands, we have reason to suppose that the name of this person was corrupted, and we can almost take upon us positively to assert, that it is a Phœnician name. Besides tin and lead, which the Phœnicians, and no other nation whatever, fetched from Britain (*m*), they likewise brought amber from the most remote regions of Europe. To the Greeks amber was known so early as in the times of Herodotus, and perhaps of Homer; and yet we are well assured, that it was only to be had from the countries bordering on the German Ocean; but no Greeks ever went to those parts: for the utmost extent of their commerce was to the Phœnician colony of *Cadiz*; consequently, the trade of the Phœnicians must have extended as far as Prussia, which is one of the most astonishing voyages that ever was undertaken by any people in the infancy of the world.

This early acquaintance of the ancients with the north of Europe cannot be denied under the pretext, that afterwards, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, rather less, if any thing, was known of these regions than is supposed to have been known to the Phœnicians: for it is the very same case with respect to the circumnavigation of Africa. It is at present proved almost to a demonstration*, that the Phœni-

** Plinii Hist. Nat. L. vii. cap. 56. Indeed the name of ΜΗΔΑΚΡΙΤΟΣ appears originally to have been ΜΕΑΚΑΡΤΟΣ, which was properly one of the appellations of the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules. And the word Hercules or *Harokel* in the Phœnician language signified a *merchant*.

(*m*) Strabonis Geograph. Lib. iii. sub finem.

* Vid. Job. Matth. Gesneri *Prælectiones de Phœnicum extra Columnas Herculis Navigationibus*, at the end of his edition of the Orphici; likewise Aug. Lud. Schlozer's *Sketch of a General History of Commerce and Navigation in the remotest antiquity*; and the Chevalier Joh. Dav. Michaelis's *Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum extræ post Bochartum. Pars prima.* p. 82. --103.

cians and Egyptians have more than once undertaken and happily accomplished the circumnavigation of this quarter of the globe. Even the celebrated voyages to *Ophir* of the Phœnicians and Hebrews in Solomon's time, were nothing else than circumnavigations of *Africa* †, and yet they were all forgotten; and when *Vasco Gama* in the years 1497 and 1498 sailed round Africa to the Indies, it was considered as an absolutely novel undertaking, and a voyage that had never been attempted before.

In order the better to secure to themselves the very important commerce of these countries, the Phœnicians founded colonies and cities every where in the most commodious places, as far as their voyages extended.

About 80 years after the Trojan war, the city of *Gades* (or *Cadix*) was founded in a small island not far from *Tartessus* in *Spain*, and soon afterwards that of *Utica* in *Africa* (n). They had long before this traded thither, and had already found their way to Britain; they had likewise made voyages to Greece, Thrace and Italy, and had even peopled and founded cities in Cettium, Thera, Argos, Thebes, Samothrace and Thafus; nay, they had, in all probability, extended their commerce as far as the Black Sea to Bithynia and Colchis. Their very lucrative traffick however to Africa, and especially to Spain, induced them to erect on the hither side of it, on an island near *Tartessus*, a

† The land of *Ophir* is, in my opinion, the same with that which was otherwise called *Africa*. The Phœnicians sent out for the purpose by the Egyptian King and Conqueror *Sesostris* and his father *Pamafis* or *Amasis* I. gradually discovered, together with the Egyptians who were joined with them, the coasts of all Africa: hence we meet with such admirable, and, in fact, comprehensive accounts of the natives of Africa so early as in Moses's time, in the xth book of Genesis. Now gold and other precious commodities being found in many parts of Africa, this newly discovered country became celebrated and got a great name: and this in the Egyptian language is *Ou-ḥēi*, and, with the addition of the word *xxʹ*, which signifies a country, *Ou-ḥēi-xxʹ*, (i. e. the celebrated country) *Ophiri* and *Ophirikab*. The third epocha of the circumnavigation of Africa fell in the time of *Solomon*, nearly 500 years later. Three hundred and eighty years after this *Necho* gave orders for the circumnavigation of Africa to be performed; and in the reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes* II. one *Eudoxus* sailed once more round Africa, which is 450 years later than the voyage of *Necho*: and yet in Strabo's time many people doubted of the possibility of making the tour of Africa by sea.

(n) Well. Paterc. Hist. Lib. I. cap. 2.

fortified place, which they might make use of as a repository or warehouse for the Spanish trade. From hence they spread as far as Britain and Prussia, and filled their magazines with the commodities which they had got by way of barter for their glass, purple die, cloth, and all sorts of manufactures and productions of ingenuity and art, and vended again in Phœnician and all the countries and towns on the shores of the Mediterranean, and that almost always to advantage.

Shortly after this, we find Phœnician colonies on every island in the Mediterranean, in the Balearic islands, in Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Malta, and many parts of the northern coast of Africa.

Nothing, however, is more worthy of remark, than the foundation of a new Phœnician State on the African Coast. About 140 years after the building of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, ELISSA or DIDO fled from Tyre in order to avoid the solicitations and persecutions of her brother, who was king of that place. She landed first in Cyprus, an island on which at that time there had long been Phœnician trading towns and colonies, and which her father had very lately brought more under subjection than ever. (c). Here she was accompanied by a priest, and her followers took wives along with them: and so she sailed with her younger brother *Barcas* and her sister ANNA to Africa. As soon as she arrived, she bought a piece of ground of the Africans, for the purpose of building on it a fortification; to this, from the oxes hide, on which when she made the negotiation, she sat by way of carpet after the eastern manner, she gave the name of *Byrsa*. About 25 years after this, just under the fort which was situated on an eminence, and whither more and more Phœnicians continually resorted, she laid the foundation of a *new city*, which accordingly was called *Cartha-chadta* or *New-town*: or as it was abbreviated by the Greeks, *Karchedon*, and according to the Latin pronunciation, *Carthago*. The fertility of the adjacent soil, the excellence of the harbour, the happy scite of the town, in the center of so many

(c) Virgilis *Æneis*, L. I. v. 621, 622.

rich islands and countries conveniently situated for carrying on a lucrative commerce, together with the industry of the inhabitants, all contributed greatly to the rapid increase and improvement of the colony. It was not long before, in consequence of the enlargement of its territory, it became a separate State; and this inconsiderable State soon increased to a kingdom, which, from the first building of the city to its destruction, in all 700 years, extended its dominion over a considerable portion of Africa, and over a great part of Spain, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, as likewise over the Balearic Islands.

The internal regulation of the State, the most perfect and refined policy often shewn and practised by it, the numerous wars carried on for the protection and extension of its commerce; the emoluments arising to it from this commerce (which was extended to the most remote countries) as well as from the silver mines of Spain, and from the active diligence and unwearied industry of its inhabitants, contributed very much to the rapid increase of their power, of their riches, and of their prosperity in general.

The great variety of professions and arts, which subsisted at Carthage in the most flourishing state; the spirit of emulation, the skill arising from experience, and the great art exhibited by them in the construction and navigation of their ships; the spirit of enterprize and the courage regulated by prudence which manifested itself in all their undertakings, soon put them in a condition to extend their commerce to those nations with which the Phœnicians had, till then, carried on an exclusive trade.—Soon after the State of Carthage had acquired a sufficient degree of firmness and consistence, the power of the Phœnicians decayed. For about 120 years after the building of Carthage, *Salmanassar*, king of *Assyria*, made war on the united States of Phœnicia; and the cities in Cyprus, as well as the cities of Akra, Sidon and old Tyre, revolted from the kingdom of Tyre. These internal troubles and insurrections among the Phœnicians themselves, joined to the victories of the Assyrians, considerably weakened their power. In the space of 150 years more the States of Tyre, after having sustained a 13 years siege, became subject to *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Chaldæa*. The rest of the Phœ-

nician States had likewise fallen into the hands of the Chaldæans, and the whole commerce of this nation was now entirely annihilated. This event served greatly to throw the trade of the Phœnicians entirely into the hands of the Carthaginians. In consequence of this, the power and credit of this latter people, as well as their riches, increased greatly; on which account it was, that about this period, or rather later, they formed the design of getting into still more branches of the trade of the most remote countries, by means of voyages of discovery made for the purpose. Being therefore at that time in the height of their prosperity, (p) they sent out two squadrons of ships with this view. One of these was under the command of HANNO, and went out of the Straits of Gibraltar to the southward, along the African coast. The other was commanded by IMILCO or HIMILCO, and sailed out of the Straits northwards along the coasts of Spain and Gaul to Britain *. Accurate accounts of both these voyages were drawn up and were preserved in the archives of Carthage. The southern voyage is described in a Greek fragment. And on the subject of that of the northern Admiral, there are extant some obscure, mutilated Latin verses. In short, it appears that the voyages which had been relinquished by the Phœnicians in consequence of the destruction of their towns and of the state of slavery to which they were reduced after the conquest made of them

(p) Plinii Histor. nat. Lib. ii. Cap. 67, & L. v. c. 1.

* *Rufus Fests Avienus Ora maritime, versu 17—415.* Avienus says expressly: that all which he there relates, is taken out of the Punic *Himilco*, which he had seen himself; and that he had extracted from the very inmost of the Punic Annals, and had made it public to please his friend *Probus*. Notwithstanding this assertion, this geographical fragment appears to be very much mutilated, and very incoherent. In it he speaks much of lead and tin, and of ships cased with leather, (which in Kamtschatka would be called *Baidars*, and in Wales *Coracles*) and mentions that in those parts the *East-rymni* lived, to whom the people of Tartessus and Carthage went, for the purpose of trading with them.—Yet I will not deny, but that it sometimes appears, as if these tin countries (agreeably to what Avienus says) all lay in Spain; on which account I consider this fragment of Avienus as very imperfect and much mutilated.—Thus much, however, is certain; that at the very same time that Hanno sailed to the southward, Himilco made a voyage towards the North, to the tin countries, and that an accurate account of this voyage was preserved in the annals of Carthage, which were still extant in the middle of the 5th century, at the time when Avienus wrote (viz. about the year 450). Perhaps the *East-rymni* were situated at the promontory of *Ocrinum* in Britain.

by the Assyrians and Chaldeans, gave occasion to the Carthaginians to make themselves better acquainted with the countries whence their kinsmen and allies, the Phœnicians, had derived such considerable advantages, and being once in possession of those advantages, they used every means in their power to exclude others from participating with them. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that although some few reports got abroad, that *Braetain* was the tin-country, or that *Baltia* on the river Rhodun, where the Aesti lived, not far from the Guttoni, was the country that produced amber, nevertheless their posterity in later times had not the least knowledge left of the true situation of these countries, it being the interest as well of the Phœnicians as of the Carthaginians after them, to conceal as much as possible the real situation of these countries from others. In a subsequent period the Romans, being as desirous to discover these sources of the wealth of the Carthaginians as they were to conceal them, sent a vessel out for that purpose, with orders for it to sail in the wake of a Phœnician ship bound for Britain. This was soon observed by the wary Carthaginian, in consequence of which he ran his vessel purposely among the rocks and sand-banks, so that it was lost together with that of the inquisitive Roman. The patriotic commander of the former was indemnified for his loss by his country: and thus the way to the British tin mines was for a considerable time longer (*q*) concealed from the Romans. But now the North likewise, together with all the nations and regions in that quarter, continued to be unknown; and an acquaintance with it was rendered still more difficult by this selfish concealment; and in all probability the civilization and refinement of the manners of mankind was still farther retarded by this circumstance.

(*q*) *Strabo* Lib. iii. sub finem.

C H A P. II.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Grecians.

THE Grecians were originally a people, that had at an early period of time passed from *Asia Minor* to the peninsula which they inhabited. In process of time they were civilized by new-comers from *Asia Minor*, Phœnicia and Egypt. From *Asia* they received many arts and professions, together with agriculture and the cultivation of the vine. The *Egyptians* seem to have introduced among them the regulations of civil establishment, matrimony, laws, and many of their religious doctrines. From the Phœnicians they learned navigation, commerce, astronomy and the use of letters.

As soon as they had got some kind of establishment, which was merely in the form of little independent States, they began to practise navigation: and their rude, unsettled way of life, their internal commotions and mutual dissensions, together with their warlike turn of mind, disposed them to piracy. But when they arrived at a higher degree of civilization, they were insensibly led to commerce. At an early period they undertook an expedition towards the North, through the Straits which separate *Asia* from Europe, into the Black Sea as far as the river Phasis, celebrated for its golden sands. They returned by some rivers, which they sailed up, and after a considerable time and going a great way about, at length arrived again in their native country. As romantic as this expedition appears, it is nevertheless founded upon truth. The Argonauts, without doubt, visited a great many countries in the North. Only we cannot at this period of time determine what circuit they took in their way back. They went, no doubt, to the *Hyperboreans*, a nation, the situation of which was, according to circumstances, frequently varied by the Grecians. Indeed, every tract of country that lay towards the North, or that was sheltered by its situation from the violence of the north wind, might lay claim to this appellation.

Thus

Thus they at first met with the Hyperboreans beyond those tracts of Thrace, which lie to the north of Greece; for *Boreas*, the ravisher of *Orythia*, lived in the land of the *Gicones*. (s) Afterwards, when the world had acquired a more extensive acquaintance with the northern regions, they removed this people to the other side of the Black Sea, the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, where lived the Sauromates, the Arimaspians and the Celts. (t) At a still later period they placed them beyond the Riphæan mountains, where they had six months day and six months night, and where, without contentions and quarrels, in a warm and extraordinarily fertile country, they passed their days in repose and happiness, till satiated with life, their heads adorned with flowers, they precipitated themselves from a certain rock into the sea. (u) It is easy to perceive that these accounts are formed out of various others awkwardly put together. In the infancy of navigation there went a report among the Grecians concerning certain *Fortunate Islands* (as they were termed) lying at a great distance to the westward (probably the Canary Islands and the Island of Madeira) which were warm and fertile, and peopled with a race of men living to a great age, in a calm, delightful state of repose and happiness. (x) On the other hand, the account of days and nights of six months long belongs to the description of *Thule*, as indeed we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention. Were these northern regions where the nights and days were imagined to be of such an extraordinary length, actually the same with the *Fortunate Islands*, they might in this case be the *Hyperborei* of the Grecians. But unfortunately they have nothing in common with these others, but their being situated beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. The *Fortunate Islands* lie to the south-west of the Straits, and *Thule* almost directly to the northward of them.

Probably at an earlier period, and before the *Fortunate Islands* were pitched upon as the seat of the Hyperboreans, the residence of these people was transferred to Spain. For, according to some accounts,

(s) Hymnus Orphicus (79) in Boream. v. 2, & Ovid. Metam. vi. 709.

(t) Strabo, Lib. ii.

(u) Mela, Lib. iii. 5. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. iv. 12, & Lib. vi. 13. Solin, xxi.

(x) Μακάρων νῆσος; Strabo, Lib. i. & Plin. Lib. vi. c. 32, & Plutarch in Sertorio.

the presents which this nation sent to Delos for Apollo, came through the hands of the Scythians (or Celtæ) to the Hadriatic Gulf, from thence to the Dodonæans, then by the Sinus Maliacus to Carystus and Tenos, and so at last to Delos. (*y*) One sees very plainly from the track by which these presents came, that they came from the westward: and as beyond the Adriatic Celts, there lay only the Spaniards farther on towards that quarter, the Hyperboreans and these people, according to the foregoing accounts, must have been one and the same nation. There it is likewise probable that they might have offered up asses in sacrifice, which are uncommonly beautiful in this country, (*z*) where the laurel, with which they were wont to encircle their temples, grew in abundance, and whence Hercules brought the olive which he planted in Pisa. (*a*) The different situations of the country of the Hyperboreans here mentioned, shew very evidently the progress of human affairs and opinions. At first the Greeks were very near the extremities of the North. But in proportion as their knowledge of different countries and nations increased, the extremity of the North was carried farther back; indeed in the infancy of navigation they had no just idea of the situation of countries with respect to the Heavens. They therefore continually carried their North farther on to the westward, viz. to Poland and Bohemia on the other side of the Riphæi, to Gaul, to Spain, and at last to the Canary Islands.

The first celebrated Grecian writer, who had any knowledge of the North, though that was but very imperfect, was HOMER. He speaks of the Cimmerians, who live in constant darkness. (*b*) This is undoubtedly an error, for the Cimmerians did not live in Italy; but in the Crim, and beyond that in Russia, where the nights in winter are very long, which gave rise to this fable. But Homer, in his travels to Phœnicia and Egypt, had collected many accounts from travellers who had undertaken long and distant voyages; and he made a point

(*y*) Herodot. Lib. iv. 32.

(*z*) Pindar. Pyth. Ode. x 46, & seq.

(*a*) Pindar. Olymp. iii. 55.

(*b*) Homeri Odyss. A. 14—19.

to interweave every thing he had heard into the body of his poems. Consequently, it is not so much to be wondered at, if he was sometimes mistaken in the situation of countries with which he was acquainted only by hearsay: but, on the other hand, those which he had actually seen himself, were so much the more present to his imagination. His descriptions of Greece appeared so striking to the Greeks, and so decisive on account of their exactness, that in every dispute concerning their respective boundaries, they applied to the poems of Homer, and the authority of these records was respected and acknowledged by all parties.

In describing what Telemachus saw at the house of Menelaus, Homer makes mention of *Electrum* or *Amber*; and in two places more he describes "golden collars set with amber," which makes it probable either that these materials had been brought to Greece by the Phœnicians; or else that Menelaus had received them by way of present from the King of Sidon. This mineral, which was so much esteemed by the ancients, was brought to them from Prussia; consequently, neither it, nor the country it came from, could be totally unknown to the Greeks, any more than tin, a metal with which Homer was likewise acquainted, and which probably was in those days brought from Britain.

These meager accounts, however, are not calculated to give us much information. HERODOTUS, who lived 408 years before Christ was born, even at that early period was acquainted with the Caspian and Black Seas, with the Wolga, the Don, a great part of Russia and Poland, together with the Crim and Bessarabia, and the Rivers Moldau and Danube. His knowledge of these places was undoubtedly very exact, as he had conversed much with the Scythians, and from them had learned the situation of these countries, seas, and rivers, and the manners and customs of the respective inhabitants of these regions. With the country of the Celtæ, however, he was not at all

(c) Homeri Odyss. Δ. 73. O. 459, & Σ. 295.

(d) Homeri Iliad. Σ. 474.

acquainted,

acquainted, for he affirmed that the Ister took its rise in the country of the *Gbinese* and *Pirrbeni*. The Cassiterian Islands, whence tin was brought, were known to him by name; and in like manner he had heard of the country that produced amber, situate at the extremity of Europe; but to the true situation of these countries he was an utter stranger.

About 70 years after the time of Herodotus, the Phocæan colony, *Maffilia*, appears to have formed the design of partaking of the wealth which the Phœnicians and Carthaginians had acquired by their commerce. The expeditions of Hanno and Himilco were every where spoken of; but the way to the Tin Country, and to the western part of Africa, remained unknown to all. The Maffilians, therefore, about this time, sent out EUTHYMESES, to search for the way which Hanno had taken, when he made his discoveries in the South; and PYTHEAS was commissioned to follow the track of Himilco, and to make discoveries in the North. Of Euthymenes, (*e*) little more than the name is handed down to us; but concerning PYTHEAS, divers writers give us information. (*f*) He was certainly a man that had great knowledge of nature, was thoroughly versed in astronomy, and was indued in a high degree with courage, and a true philosophical spirit of observation. He was one of the first among the Greeks who were acquainted with the real cause of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and ascribed these phenomena to the influence of the moon. In the Mediterranean, the ebb and flood is so small, that it has been hitherto supposed that it could not be observed there at all. We find, however, by the latest observations made at Toulon, that even there, three hours fifteen minutes after the moon has passed its meridian, the tide rises one foot, and in the highest spring tides, augmented by the concurrence of other causes, it swells as high as two feet. This ele-

(*e*) Senecæ Nat. Quæst. Lib. iv. cap. 2. & Marcian Heracleota p. 63. Ed. Hudsoni inter Geogr. Græcos minores. T. 1.

(*f*) Plutarch. de placitis philosoph. Lib. iii. art. 18. Strab. Lib. ii. Hipparchus Comment. in Arat. Lib. ii. c. 5. Cleomedes de Sphæra. Geminus Isagoges. c. 5. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. cap. 75. iv. c. 16. vi. 34.

vation, however, was so inconsiderable, that none of the ancients took notice of it, but as soon as they had got through the Straits of Gibraltar into the great Ocean, the tide became so new and so striking a phenomenon to them, that they then for the first time looked on it as a subject of wonder and astonishment. Such, in fact, it appeared to Lælius, when he bore up against the Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Adherbal in these Straits. The light Carthaginian vessels were obliged to give way more to the tide, and two of them were sunk by one Roman ship (*g*). Alexander's fleet suffered greatly at the mouth of the Indus (*h*), and Julius Cæsar was likewise very little acquainted with the currents caused by the tide, when he arrived in the British Ocean (*i*), on which occasion he lost a good many ships. This phenomenon, as may be supposed, excited all the studious men of antiquity to give their opinions concerning it. Cicero, Strabo, Seneca, and Pliny, have all made mention of it, and attributed the cause of it to the moon (*k*). But these writers lived three hundred years after the decease of Pytheas, of whom it is recorded, that he affirmed "that the flood-tide depended on the increase of the moon, but the tide of ebb on its decrease (*l*)."

Were we at present in possession of the works of Pytheas, which, in fact, were still extant in the fifth century, we might then know, whether the author, who has handed down to us this saying of Pytheas, has reported it precisely in the terms in which it was delivered; for I have some reason to doubt whether his meaning has been rightly understood. It is not the tide of flood, but the increased height of the tide of flood that depends on the new and full moon, in like manner as the lesser height of it is observable in the first and last quarters. This could not possibly escape the observation of Pytheas, who had sailed so far upon this sea, and

(*g*) Livii Hist. Lib. xxviii. c. 30.

(*h*) Q. Curtii, Lib. ix. c. 9. Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. vi. c. 18.

(*i*) Cæsar de Bello Gall. Lib. iv. parag. 85. 86. Edit. Elzev.

(*k*) Cicero de Natura Deor. Lib. ii. c. 7. Strabo, Lib. iii. Seneca de Providentia, c. 1. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 97.

(*l*) Plutarchus de Placitis & Dictis Philosoph. Lib. iii. art. 17.

(agreeably to the method practised at that time) constantly along the coast. But it is not at all unlikely that some Philosopher, who without having ever actually seen the Ocean, had contented himself with navigating it in his own chamber, should have not been able to comprehend this passage of Pytheas, and have misrepresented it accordingly.

Pytheas, even before he set out on his journey, appears to have occupied himself in observing the Heavens. Before his time, it was believed, that the Polar Star, or the outermost star in the Bear's Tail, was next to the Pole: but he pointed out three more stars, with which the North Star formed a square, and in this square was the true place of the Pole. (*m*.) He likewise erected at Marseilles, his birth place, a pillar or gnomon, and from the proportion which the height of this gnomon bore to the length of the shadow cast by it at the summer solstice, he found, with great exactness and precision, the north latitude of the City of Marseilles, or its distance from the Equator. Hence Eratosthenes, and Hipparchus, inferred very justly, that this latitude amounted to 34 deg. 17 min. a precision, which in the then infant state of Astronomy, one could hardly suppose any person capable of. In fact, WENDELIN prevailed upon GASSENDI to correct this observation; who accordingly found that it hardly differed a minute from the real latitude (*n*).

It must be confessed, that Pytheas, with such extensive as well as solid acquisitions in science, was perfectly well qualified for the great enterprise to which he was appointed. He sailed out of the Straits along the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and Gaul, till he descried that of Britain, along which he likewise coasted till he came to the very northernmost point of it, and from thence sailed six days longer till he discovered *Thule* (*o*), where at the summer solstice, the sun did not set for 24 hours. From this description of Thule, some have ima-

(*m*.) Hipparchi Comment. in Arat. Lib. ii. c. 5.

(*n*.) Gassendi Proportio Gnomonis ad Solstitialem Umbram Observata Massiliæ, Anno 1638. Oper. Tomo iv. p. 565 & seq.

(*o*.) Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 75, & iv. c. 16.

gined it to be Iceland. But if we consider, that in the manner of sailing used at that time, it was impossible to get from the northernmost point in Britain, to Iceland, in the space of six days, we shall rather be inclined to suppose that it was the *Shetland* Islands that he reached. For though, in fact, it is only within the Arctic Circle, or in lat. $66\frac{1}{2}$ deg. that the day is 24 hours long at the summer solstice, yet it cannot be denied, but that by means of the refraction of the atmosphere it is still so light at this period, even in the 60th degree of latitude, that one may read, write, and transact any business whatever without any other light than that of the sun. And indeed, this great man's knowledge of Astronomy enabled him to infer with great certainty the total elevation of the sun above the horizon; for at every place he came to, he asked the inhabitants in what part of the heavens the sun rose and set. Now, these points he found approached each other in proportion as he went farther to the Northward; whence he might easily conclude, that at about the 66th deg. the sun never set at the time of the summer solstice.

Pliny says likewise that Pytheas had seen the tide on the British Coast rise to the height of 80 cubits, or 120 feet. But we know, that it is only in narrow seas, such as the British Channel, that the tide rises to any great height. The greatest height to which it rises at Brest, is 23 feet. In Bristol too, it mounts as high as to 42; and in St. Malo, to 48 feet. The text, therefore, in Pliny, is certainly corrupted*.

A day's journey on the other side of Thule, according to Pytheas, the sea was coagulated, whence it is called *Cronium***.

D 2

that

* Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. ii. c. 97. *Ogogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere assus, Pytheas Massiliensis auctor est.* Perhaps the syllable *vi* has been omitted after *Ogo* by the copyist, so that the passage should be read, *Ogo vicenis cubitis, &c.* which makes it 42 feet, i. e. equal to the greatest height of the tide at Bristol.

** Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. iv. c. 16. *A Thule canius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatum.* And in c. 13. *Septentrionalis Oceanus; amalchium eum Hecateus appellat, a Paropamisodum, quod Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua significat congelatum.* Philemon *Merimorzum* a Cimbris vocari, hoc est, *mortuum mare*, usque ad promontorium Rubæ: ultra deinde *Cronium*.—Tacitus de Moribus Germ. c. 45. *Trans Suionas ali. d. mare*

that he knew from the relations made him by the inhabitants, that part of the North Sea in severe winters was covered with ice; which part indeed at times, in case of a hard frost, was concreted in such a manner, and, as it were, coagulated in the space of one night, as to be entirely converted into ice.

Pytheas, however, not content with having made these discoveries, was desirous likewise of becoming acquainted with the region whence the Phœnicians used to fetch their amber. He must certainly have had some directions, either oral or written, which he followed in his enquiries; otherwise it must appear absolutely impossible for him to have penetrated quite to the farthestmost part of the Baltic, and there hit exactly on the very spot of the Southern Coast where it is found in the greatest abundance. And yet, we have great reason to suppose him to have been perfectly well acquainted with the spot; as we may very plainly perceive even from the fragments of Pytheas preserved in the writings of the later Geographers, that he knew the situation of the whole place, and that he was likewise acquainted with the neighbouring nations, and the adjacent rivers; and that he was even no stranger to the names given to these places by the inhabitants themselves.

signum ac prope immotum—quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. — Dionys. Periegetes. v. 32, 33.

Ποῖον μὲν αὐτὸς ΠΕΙΡΗΓΟΤΑ ΤΙ ΚΡΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΙ
 Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ καὶ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ εἰρημίζαν, ἐντα ἀφ' αὐτοῦ
 Νελίον.

And Orpheus Argonautic, v. 1079, 1080.

Ἐμπίστα δ' Ὀρέων, ΚΡΟΝΙΟΝ δὲ ἐκκλινομένη
 Πάσιον ΤΙΕΡΒΟΡΕΗΝ μωροῦσι, ΝΕΚΡΗΝ-τι θάλασσαν.

Strabo, Lib. ii. observes from Pytheas of Marseille, that in the vicinity of Thule to the Northward, the sea is neither land, nor sea, nor air, but a mixture of all.

One may plainly perceive that all the authors cited above, have taken the expressions by which they described the *Frozen Northern Ocean*, from one and the same source, viz. from Pytheas of Marseilles, who had heard them himself made use of by the Celtic or Gaëlic inhabitants of the neighbouring regions; for even the names mentioned here are Gaëlic and Welsh. *Mori-marusa* comes undoubtedly from *Mor*, in Welsh, *Sea*, and *Maru*, *dead*; which Pliny has very properly translated “the Dead Sea.” *Muri-croinn* in the Irish language signifies an incrusted, thick, coagulated sea; and consequently the epithet of *Mars Cronium* is by no means to be derived from *Kronos* or Saturn.

The

The information he gives us on this subject is as follows: "on the shores of a certain Bay (Aestuarium or Firth) called *Mentonomon*, lives a people called *Guttoni*, and at the distance of a day's voyage from thence is the island *Abalus*, (called by Timæus *Baltia*) upon this the waves throw the amber, which is a coagulated matter cast up by the sea; they use it for firing instead of wood, and also sell it to the neighbouring Teutones (p)". All this is as exact as it is possible for it to be; for upwards of 1700 years after, we find traces of the truth of this; the provinces of *Nadrauen* and *Schabavonia* are to this very day called *Gudde*, and their inhabitants *Guddai*, in the Lithuanian tongue of the Sudavians, Galindians, and Natangians (q). The Bay is the *Frißh* and *Curish Haf*, or sea. It is from 8 to 16 miles wide, and this used to be a short day's trip, consequently the opposite island or islands, were on the very same spot where they are now. The name of *Mentonomon* signifies the promontory of pine-trees, (*men-daniemi*) and in fact on both peninsulas or necks of land here, we find large forests of these trees. The spot on Samland, where the amber was cast most plentifully on the shore, bore, so late as in the time of the Crusades, the name of *Wittland*, or *Wittlandes Ort*, i. e. *Whiteland*; now this in the Lithuanian tongue is *Baltikka*, from *Baltos*, i. e. white; and therefore I should prefer reading in Pliny, *Abaltica* or *Baltia*, instead of *Abalus*. Neither was it customary with the inhabitants to burn amber instead of wood, but only to set it on fire, probably by way of fumigation or perfume; and they sold it to those Teutones or Germans that lived nearest to them.

From Pytheas's, or some other ancient relations of the Greeks, it was moreover known, that the substance known by the name of amber, came from the river *Raduhn*, and this name was soon changed by the Greeks into *Eridanus*, (viz. the *Po*) or *Rhodanus*, i. e. the river Rhone; in like manner as the *Wends*, or Vandals, who lived to the westward of the Vistula, were, without the least shadow of reason,

(p) Plin. Lib. xxxvii. c. 2.

(q) Prætorius Aët. Bornfic. ii. p. 900.

confounded with the Veneti, residing on the coast of the Adriatic. Consequently, with Æschylus, they looked for amber in Iberia or Spain, or with Euripides and Apollonius, on the shores of the Adriatic.

This is the substance of the relations of the Discoveries made by Pytheas; relations, which even after all the falsifications of names made by those who copied after him, are found to be as accurate and exact as they are important. But of what consequence these Discoveries of Pytheas were to his native country, we are entirely ignorant, as not the least intelligence on this subject has been preserved to our days. Since that time, the affairs of the Greeks continually declined more and more; so that we hear nothing farther of any Voyages or Discoveries made by them in the North, as their power and dominion passed into the hands of a quite different nation.

C H A P. I I I.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Romans in the North.

THE Romans in the first years subsequent to the settling of their state, gave themselves very little trouble about knowledge or learning of any kind; agriculture and war being their principal occupations; insomuch, that they sometimes set Generals at the head of their armies, who, a few days before, had held the plough with their own hands. Consequently they likewise knew very little of such countries and people, as lay beyond their next neighbours.

At a period when the Phœnicians had long before visited the coasts of Spain and Britain, when the Grecians had in like manner already navigated the whole Mediterranean, the Romans had hardly any knowledge at all of commerce and navigation. Those Greeks
who

who had carried their arts into Hetruria, and who sometimes strayed as far as Rome itself, had, however, diffused in Rome so much information concerning Greece, that they had in this city some knowledge of the famous oracle of Delphi, and had heard of the laws of Draco and Solon. Moreover, when commerce had brought the Carthaginians to the coasts of Italy, the Romans, soon after they had expelled the royal family of the Tarquins, made a treaty with this people. For 364 years after the foundation of their state, they had not yet heard of that great and numerous people the Gauls, who at that time lived not fourscore miles from the gates of their city; and, indeed, at that very juncture likewise took it, but were not able to keep possession of their conquest. About 107 years after this event, the Romans were continually employed in fighting these Gauls in the neighbourhood of the city of Rome. About 64 years after this, the Romans must have already been in some measure acquainted with Spain, as they had at this period made a league with the Sagunti; and two years after this, the first Roman army that ever was in Spain, marched thither under the command of the Scipios; and in about ten years subsequent to this, they had entirely driven the Carthaginians out of the country, and remained sole possessors of that very wealthy region. All Italy had by this time been over-ran and conquered by the Romans. The Gauls, who resided in the upper part of it, were already subject to them. And they now, in the 156th year antecedent to the Christian æra, for the first time waged war on the other side of the Alps. In 33 years after this, that part of Gaul, which is bounded by the sea to the southward, by the Alps to the eastward, and by the Pyrennean Mountains to the west, and extends northwards from Geneva, along the river Rhone, to the Cevennian Mountains, and along these, westward, to the Garonne and the Pyrennees, was a Roman Province. But of the remaining part of Gaul, the Romans had but very confused ideas. Their merchants, indeed, carried their wines to the thirsty Gauls all over the country; just as the Britons at this time do run to the North Americans, and the Europeans trading to the Western Coast of Africa and to
Guinea,

Guinea, do brandy to the Negroes. This occasioned the internal part of Gaul to be better known to the Romans than it had been before. Scarcely eight years had passed since the subjection of the Provincia Narbonensis, when they had the news at Rome of the approach of two northern nations, which were called *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. The former of these probably had that appellation from *Kæmpfen*, to fight, viz. *Kæmpers*, or combatants; for long after the period here alluded to, the northern heroes continued to distinguish themselves by this name. The latter apparently got their title from being the allies, or *Theodan*, i. e. *companions* of the *Kæmpers* *. According to the accounts given

* Some may perhaps chuse to derive this name rather from *Thiod*, a folk or people, than from *Theodan*, a companion; but I confess I do not see why the name of *people* should be given to the Teutones in preference to the rest of the nations of Germany, as it is notorious, that all the ancient Germans, when there were several of them together, and they were asked, who they were? used to call themselves *Thiod*, i. e. *people*, an appellation which the Romans mistook for the proper name of this nation. Besides, they are not called, *Thiod*, *Thiaud*, or *Thiud*, i. e. *Teutsche*, *Dutch*, or *Germans*; but *Theodan*, or *Teutons*. Finally, the word *Thiod* may perhaps itself be derived from *Theodan*. A folk, or people, is a society of men connected together by some band or tie, either that of their common origin, or that of their mutual interest. Besides this, many denominations of several of the German tribes, as handed down to us, seem to owe their origin to some such appellation or other misconstrued by the Romans. It is plain, for example, that the different hords when they made their entrance into Gaul under the command of Ariovistus, must have answered to the enquiries of the Romans, that they were *Wehrmannen*, *Guermans*, or *Germans*, i. e. *warriors*; an appellation, however, which was adapted to them, only as long as they kept together, and composed one great army. The confederacy German nations on the banks of the Upper Rhine, which subsisted about the time of Constantine and Julian, and in virtue of which, every man fit to bear arms, was obliged to take the field, occasioned them to be called *Allmann*, i. e. *all men*. The confederated nations of lower Germany, who in consequence of their love of liberty, as well as in the defence of it, were *high-spirited*, *brave*, and *haughty*, were called *Fricks*, or *Franks*. It has, however, even been doubted by many, whether the Cimbri were really Germans or not. But the fact is, that they dwelled quite in the northern extremity of Germany, which was afterwards inhabited by the Jutlanders. Nay, according to Strabo, Lib. 7, they were even to be found between the Rhine and the Elbe. They subsisted in his time still on the same spot where they had lived first; and had then made a present to Augustus of a large cauldron. With large and stout bodies, they had red hair and blue eyes, like all the Germans of those times; and according to Plutarch, in his life of Marius, it was the custom among the Germans to call all Marauders, or such as made war and plundering their business, *Kimbers*, or *Kæmpers*, i. e. *combatants*. It is therefore very evident, that these people were the Goths and Saxons who

given of this people, they made their first appearance at Noricum, viz. in the southern part of what is now called Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and the Ukrain. It was there that they beat Papirius Carbo. A few years after this, we find them already in Gaul, in the country of the Allobrogi, and in the year after, near Toulouse; then, after having conquered Mallius and Cæpio, they advanced as far as Spain, where they remained near two years, and at length, in the course of the third year, returned towards the East, but divided and left the Teutones and Ambrones (a people from Helvetia) to oppose Marius; while the Cimbri, on the other hand, retired through the upper part of Germany, as far as Trent, and to the banks of the Etsch, where Catulus had taken his post. The Teutones and Ambrones were the first that were routed by Marius; and the same fate befel also the Cimbri after the two armies had made a junction near Vercelli, about 101 years before Christ. This action, however, gave the Romans a high idea of the valour of the Germans; and they now learned that they were a numerous nation, inhabiting a tract of country that extended even to the North-Sea.

In the year 59 before Christ, Cæsar was made Consul; and immediately began a war in Gaul, which lasted almost ten years, during which time the Romans, under the command of Cæsar, not only became perfectly well acquainted with Gaul, and the country of the Belgæ, but likewise crossed the Rhine twice, and forced their way into Germany: Cæsar even built a fleet, with which he crossed the British Channel, and landed twice in Britain.

who dwelt on the peninsula, situated to the north of the Elbe, on occasion of an extraordinary and dreadful inundation, many of them were induced, having probably lost all their cattle by the flood, to quit their country and turn robbers. They became therefore Kämpers, in like manner as the descendants of their northern neighbours became Wickingers. The route their army took, as well as that of their companions, the Teutones, who were likewise Germans, stretched along the Elbe as far as Bohemia, where they were repulsed by the Boii. Upon this they turned about to the east, going along the Carpathian mountains, till they came to the Black-Sea and the Danube; here, turning about again to the west, they marched to the Skordiskers and Tauriskers, two nations from Gaul, and directly upon this they met with the Roman Consul near *Noreja* for the first time. We may therefore safely conclude, that as in succeeding ages, in consequence of their being better informed, the Germans and their name have been lost and totally vanished; in like manner the denomination of Kämpers and Kimbers, or Cimbri, has likewise sunk into oblivion, these people having been found to be Saxons and inhabitants of Jutland.

The opportunity which had before offered to the Romans by the conquest of Mithridates, as well as at his death, of getting acquainted with the Bosphorus and the environs of Crimea, presented itself to them again, when, about 37 years before Christ, Asander, who had made himself master of the Bosphorus at the death of Pharnaces, was nominated king by Augustus Cæsar. During the life of this same Augustus Cæsar, the Romans got also better acquainted with the western shores of the Black-Sea or Thrace: and in like manner the whole range of Caucasus, together with the numerous petty nations dwelling in those parts, were laid open to them by the victorious arms of Pompey.

So early as ten years before the birth of Christ, Drusus advanced with an army as far as the Elbe, and it seems probable, that Domitius, the grandfather of Nero, crossed it six years after. Eight years after this, Tiberius was seen on the banks of this river. Next Varus and his whole army were slain by the Germans between the Ems and the Lippe; and Germanicus went thither also in order to explore those countries which had been so fatal to Varus. In the year 17, he went to the Weser by the North Sea, or German Ocean; and on that occasion discovered, near the mouth of the Weser and that of the Elbe, many islands; some of these were rich in amber, which the Germans called glass, and the islands themselves, the Glass-islands. Here the Romans got better acquainted with amber, which was still held in great esteem among them.

A. D. 41, Claudius made an expedition to Britain, and from this period the Romans continued to spread all over Britain; and though the Britons now and then used all possible means to defend their liberties, and struggled hard to shake off the yoke, the Romans nevertheless went on, advancing gradually with victorious arms towards the north, till at last the whole of Britain, quite to the Grampian mountains, submitted to their empire. Agricola sent the Roman fleet to the Orkneys, and subdued them also. Thule, however, was only seen at a distance; and the Roman fleet having in very calm weather circumnavigated all Britain, ascertained this extensive country to be an island.

island. Agricola took this opportunity to procure, by means of the merchants trading to Hibernia or Ireland, an exact account of the situation, extent, and population of this country, as well as of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. From what he could collect from these accounts, he was of opinion, that one Roman legion, with their attendants and ships, would be sufficient to submit this island to the dominion of the Romans, and to prevent any insurrection therein. This is therefore a fresh proof of the truth of the assertion, that the ancients did not make their discoveries merely by their military expeditions, but that, very frequently, navigation assisted in enlarging their knowledge of different countries and people. In fact, it was not their conquests which merely served to enlarge the circle of their information; but their merchants were also very eager to push still further forward than their victorious armies. For in general men are capable of the greatest and most difficult undertakings, when their designs and actions are actuated by ambition, avarice, and other passions; and they execute them with judgment and resolution; and the beneficent Creator of mankind makes use even of the passions of men, to accomplish his infinitely great and benevolent designs of introducing into all parts of the world civilization and refinement of manners, together with the knowledge of the true and only God.

The victories as well as the defeats of the Romans in the western and north-eastern parts of Germany, served likewise to this purpose, that it gave them at least some idea of the vast extent of this brave and never perfectly subdued nation, whose assistance in war they courted on account of its known valour. The Romans and Italians had been enervated by luxury and despotism, so that they were become unfit for military service; particularly, as the manner of carrying on war at that time required strength of body, personal valour, strict discipline, great skill in tactics, and great presence of mind. The sinews of the young Romans had been debilitated, and the growth of their limbs had been checked by early enjoyment and excess of voluptuousness. In fact, a delicate smooth-faced youth, vain of his person, which it is his chief study to set off to advantage, and whose whole care is to recommend him-

self to the great, by wit, dress, and flattery, has seldom the courage to face death and dangers without shrinking. The spirit of dissipation and licentiousness, which at this time reigned in Rome, rendered the youth of that state unfit to live under the constraint of subordination; and, indeed, how is it to be supposed that they could possibly exhibit any marks of spirit in a way of life which they detested; or that they should have presence of mind, or be fit for forming quick and sudden resolves in circumstances and occurrences to which they were absolute strangers? Whole armies, therefore, were raised amongst the Batavians, Germans, Pannonians, and other nations on whom luxury had not as yet shed its baneful influence. But the fidelity and valour of the Germans made them deserve the honour of being chosen in preference to others to be the body-guards of the Emperors. (*a*) This circumstance gave occasion to the Romans to become better acquainted with the situation and nature of the country, and the manners and customs of a people which had found means to acquire such honorable distinctions by its intrepidity and valour.

The desire of getting amber in great quantities determined Nero to send Julianus, a Roman Knight, to the amber coast. He landed safely in Prussia, and reckons it almost 600 miles from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the coast. He brought home an immense quantity of amber, which was all to serve for the pomp and decoration of one day, on which the Emperor gave an entertainment of gladiators. How much soever like a merchant Julianus may have carried on this amber-trade, yet still he could not have avoided learning a great deal concerning the country and its inhabitants, by being amongst them. But Pliny, who relates this event to us (*b*), seems himself to have known but imperfectly where this coast was. For instance, amber had been found in great abundance, in his days, along the coast of Friesland, near the mouth of the Ems. The island on which the sea had cast it, was called *Burchana*; in our days, *Borkum*. Now Pliny

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. l. i. paragr. 17. Edit. Elzevir. 1640.

(*b*) Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xxxvii. c. 3.

seems to have mistaken this amber island for the real native country of amber, and consequently it seems evident, that the conceptions the Romans had of the North, were not altogether clear and accurate; for in general, Pliny supposed, that the Baltic was connected with the Caspian and the Great Indian Seas (*c*), though Herodotus had already shewn, that the Black and Caspian Seas, to the northwards, did not join to any other sea; consequently, all the sea beyond Germany and Prussia, was in the days of Pliny less known than it had been long before, in the times of the Phœnician navigations.

It is true, that the conquest of Dacia under Trajan, had served to extend the boundaries of the empire towards that side; but his immediate successor, Adrian, withdrew all the Roman armies out of this new province, and thereby again precluded the means of procuring any more intelligence concerning this part of the North.

The great Marcomannian war, which Marcus Aurelius was obliged to enter upon, furnished opportunities of collecting many particulars which might serve to determine with greater accuracy than before, the extent and situation of those countries. But this period was destitute of historians, at least of such as might have transmitted to us exact accounts of the situations of the belligerent powers. Luxury, depravity of manners, the decline of the army and of the whole Roman state, paved the way, at a distance, to the great revolutions which threatened this distracted empire. It was among the Romans themselves that the northern nations learned the arts which enabled them to conquer them with greater facility, and to shake the very foundations of their government. Ignorance and a vitiated taste, which always go hand in hand with effeminacy and luxury, continually insinuated themselves more and more into the Roman state, while true learning and genuine useful knowledge daily decreased.

Of the *Finlanders*, *Esthonians*, or *Aestiers*, together with all the Schalavonian tribes, in those times known only by the appellation of *Sauromates*, or Northern *Medes*, (of which nation they either were, or pre-

(*c*) Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. vi. c. 13.

tended to be, the descendants) as also of the *Goths*, the Romans scarcely knew any thing but the names. *Norway* (*Nerigon*) *Sconen* (*Scandia*) *Dunney** and *Voeroe*, were, according to them, islands lying near the Icy Sea, as well as *Thule*, whither they used to sail from *Norway*, as well as from the northernmost point of Scotland. These obscure notions of the Romans respecting the geography of the northern nations, are consequently still very incoherent, and of no manner of use.

* Pliny expresses himself thus, Lib. iv. c. 16. *Sunt qui & alias (insulas) prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos: maximanque omnium Nerigon, ex qua in Thulen navigetur.* A *Thule* unius diei navigatione, mare concretum, a nonnullis *Cronium* appellatum. It is evident, that the whole coast is meant here; and though the learned *Counsellor Schlotner*, whose information on these points in general is universally respected, in his *Introduction to the Universal History of the North*, an excellent work, chuses to understand by *Bergos*, one of the two sons of *Hercules* mentioned by *Mela*, viz. *Albion* and *Bergion*, who gave the names of *Albion* and *Bergion* (or *Ossya Juverna, Hibernia*) to the British Islands; yet, I cannot persuade myself to take it in this light; and it seems more probable to me, that the appellations of *Dumna* and *Bergos* belonged to the islands *Dumnoe*, or *Dumney*, near *Halgoland*, and *Voeroe*, near *Malstrom*, for the continued series in which these countries are disposed, seems to render this supposition in a manner necessary. For the same reason, I should never think of looking for *Thule* in *Iceland*, but rather in *Sketland*.

B O O K II.

OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH IN THE
MIDDLE AGES.

C H A P. I.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Arabians in the North.

ROME had been so much weakened and enervated by its riches and luxury ; by the neglect of discipline among the military ; by the division of its power into an eastern and a western empire ; by the ambition of a great number of private men, who all pretended to the imperial crown ; by the absolute corruption of manners among the people, and by the scholastic diffentions of its bishops ; that the neighbouring nations soon perceived this weakness, and began to attack the Empire with united force. Even before the division of the empire had taken place, the Marcomanni and their allies from 166 to 180, had driven the great Emperor Marcus Aurelius to such straits, that he had been compelled to dispose of the sumptuous imperial wardrobe and furniture by public auction, in order to provide the supplies necessary for carrying on the war ; a step which shews very plainly the desperate situation of the empire. At so early a period as the year 240, the *Franks* constituted a confederacy of undaunted nations in Lower Germany, which at length, in the fifth century, A. D. 486, laid the foundation of the Frankish, or French kingdom. The *Goths* likewise, so early as in 244, were in motion in Dacia, and soon after we find Rome plundered by king Alaric, and his *Western* or *Vish-Goths*, and a new empire founded by his successors in the southern parts of Gaul and Spain. The *East*, or *Ostro-Goths*, under Dietrick
of

of Bern, went to Italy and re-took this empire from the Heruli, who had born the sovereign sway about 20 years after the termination of the western empire; this lasted about 60 years, viz. till 554. In the south-western part of Germany, so early as in the year 268, arose the confederacy of the Allemanni, which existed for a long while after. Soon after this, viz. in the year 286, we find the *Anglo-Saxons* and Franks making their predatory incursions into Britain, till the Britons, on account of the oppressions they suffered from the *Picts* and *Scots*, found it necessary to call in the Saxons to their assistance, who in 449, arrived under their Kings *Hengist* and *Horfa*, but kept possession of the country themselves, and established several small states, which in process of time were united into one. The *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alani*, ravaged the Roman dominions in 407, as far as Spain, and the former of these people at length even went over to Africa in order to establish a new dominion there. So early as in the beginning of the fifth century, the *Burgundi* had advanced from their ancient abodes on the shores of the Baltic, to the river Maine; and for the assistance they had afforded the Romans against the Westro-Goths, took a part of Gaul to themselves. In the land of Rugen on the Baltic, and in that part of Germany which is now called Brandenburg, were the *Lombardi*, or Lombards, who in the year 548 were received by the Emperor Justinian in Pannonia, where, in concert with the Awari, they subverted the empire of the *Gepides*, and A. D. 568, established a new sovereignty in the upper part of Italy, which lasted upwards of 200 years. Thus was the Roman Empire dismembered and parcelled out by numerous armies composed of the different nations of Germany, and the whole western part of it was now in the hands of princes descended from Germans. The East was ravaged by the *Schavonians*, *Huns*, *Awari*, *Bulgari*, and a variety of other nations; and the great power of the Persians had even forced its way to the shores of the Hellespont, whilst the Christians in the Roman Empire, forgetful of the principles of their great founder, who preached as well as practised universal love and benevolence, were continually quarrelling, persecuting, and killing each other on the score of difference of opinion in matters of religion.

To

To such a state of moral corruption and political debility, the great Roman Empire, in those days the seat of all knowledge, civilization, and refinement, was now debased. At this period there started up in Arabia, an illiterate man, of the name of *Mohammed*, endowed with a good understanding, and lively imagination; and of a dark and melancholic disposition, yet not insensible to the physical influence of love. At his first setting out in life he was poor, though he belonged to the noble family of the *Koreischites*; but falling in love with *Chadidscha*, the widow of an opulent merchant, he married her, by which means he became rich, and in consequence of this, led a more inactive life than he had formerly done, and had leisure to give himself up entirely to the eccentric reveries and projects with which in his younger years he had often indulged himself in the solitary desarts on the road from Mecca to Damascus. The want of the bodily exercise to which he had been accustomed, together with a rich diet, and the weakness resulting from amorous excesses, gave a greater play to his imagination, and rendered it more irregular than before. The unconnected and very much adulterated religious maxims which he had picked up from Jews and superstitious monks, he reduced into an ill-digested system, the only tolerable part of which was, that which concerns the unity of God and his glorious attributes. With the language and expressions of poetry he was not entirely unacquainted; as the best Arabian poets used to meet every year at the annual fair of *Okad*, to read their poems publickly to the people, and to contend for prizes, seven only of whom obtained the honour of having their prize poems hung up in the *Kaaba* at *Mecca*. With such foundations, and with these previous attainments, *Mohammed* appeared all on a sudden in the capacity of a prophet, who saw visions, was haunted with apparitions, and preached a new religion. In the beginning there were but few that approved of his new doctrines, and he and his adherents were ridiculed and persecuted in his native country, *Mecca*. But in the year 622, he fled to *Medina*, to the enemies of the inhabitants of Mecca, and that whole city went

over to his party. Strengthened by so powerful a support, the enthusiastic prophet became a persecutor. His new party became the tool of his revenge. He took Mecca, and thereby procured himself an addition of territory, and a fresh army of profelytes. The sword being once drawn, victory and the new religion soon spread over all Arabia. The predatory tribes of Arabia were now united by the strongest ties of religion, and, with the enthusiastic zeal of profelytes, subjugated every thing, from the Indus to the Pyrennean Mountains, to the religion and dominion of the successors (or *Caliphs*) of Mohammed. Upon this the sciences soon began to flourish amongst these people formerly so rude and illiterate; and poets, physicians, philosophers, natural-philosophers, historians, and geographers, now made their appearance. With but few of these last, however, the Europeans are acquainted, either on account of their ignorance of the language, or because the writings of these men are, for the greater part, to be found only at Morocco, in Egypt, in Syria, and at Constantinople, buried as it were in Turkish libraries, inaccessible to Christians; and the remainder, in the almost-as-inaccessible libraries of Rome and Spain; or else, perhaps, because the printing of such works actually produces but little profit either to a bookseller or editor; and the great are generally more inclined to employ their fortunes on the means of their own advancement, or to bestow them on their flatterers, and on the indulgence of their passions, than by their liberalities to encourage an edition of an old Arabian geographer. In fact, the only Oriental authors, who have written geographical works that have been printed, and are now extant, are, *Scherif al Edrissi*, who wrote his *Geographical Recreations* in 1153; *Abulfeda*, Prince of Hamath, who published a system of geography in 1321; *Nassir Eddin*, of Tus, in Persia, the friend of *Holaku Chan*, whom he persuaded to make the conquest of Bagdad, and to abolish the Caliphate, wrote in 1260, his *Ilchanian Tables* on the longitude and latitude of places; and *Ulugbek*, the nephew of the great *Timur*, who, in 1437, wrote his *Geographical Tables*.

The

The Arabian generals had long before this been ordered by the Caliphs to transmit, in the course of their victories, exact and accurate descriptions of the nations and countries conquered by them ; none, however, of the works we have referred to above, can certainly be reckoned in the number of such as were drawn from these authentic geographical records. Some of them content themselves with communicating merely what they have gathered from common report, concerning distant nations ; for this reason, these accounts are no where less to be depended on, than where they relate to our northern part of the globe.

The author of the extracts from *Scherif al Edrisi* is a Christian, and though it seems as if he had extracted from the original author all that he says in the section on the sixth climate, there is nevertheless room to suppose, that this Christian abbreviator has advanced what is found in his work relating to the Christian countries, either from his own knowledge of these countries, or from the accounts given of them by other authors. But whether these relations are original or borrowed, they are so meagre and mutilated, that it is evident they have contributed but little to give us any information concerning the regions of the North. The countries they are acquainted with are *Britany* and *Poitou* ; then come *France*, *Normandy*, *Flanders*, *Hinu* (i. e. *Hainault*) *Lorrain*, and *Berri* ; with some countries of the *Frank Burgundians*, and the *Allemannian Burgundians* ; then *Limania*, or *Allemania* ; the land of *Bakir* (doubtless for *Bafir*, or *Bavaria*) *Carentara* (or *Carinthia*) *Louvain*, *Frieseland*, *Savoy*, and some parts of the island of *England*. In *Allemannia* and *Saxony*, he names the towns of *Harbek*, *Kulozat*, *Maschliat*, and *Hallah*. Towards the north, on all parts, is the *dark sea*. *Germania*, *Gethulia*, and *Russia* ; the land *Bergian*, or *Bergen*, *Russia* and *Komania*, *Heraclia* on the Black-Sea ; the countries of *Wailakan* (or *Walachia*) *Cbozaria* (or *Chazaria*) *Bolyfaria*, *Besegert*, *Lan* (or *Alania*). In the land of the Asconian Turks is the river *Athel* (or *Wolga*) which falls into the sea *Tabarestan* (or the Caspian Sea). The land *Samricki*, or of the

Walachian Turks; the land *Sifan*, the land *Choffach* (i. e. of the *Cossacks*) the land *Torkos*, and the wall of *Jagog* and *Magog* (in the *Caucæsus*) which was built by *Dfultarnaini* (or *Alexander*); in the dominions of a certain *Chakan Odkos*, who was a Mahometan. Beyond this wall arrived the travellers, dispatched by the Caliph, at the towns of *Lochman*, *Araban*, *Bersagian*, *Turan*, and *Samarkand*. From thence their route passed over *Ray* (or *Rages*, in *Media*) to *Sorramanrai*. In the dark sea are desert islands, and ruined cities, to which, whilst they were inhabited, ships used to go in order to buy *amber* and coloured stones. Then he describes the island called *England* in the dark sea, the island of *Scatia* (or *Scotland*) and the island *Irlanda* (or *Ireland*). The land *Bolonia*, *Sveda*, *Finmark*, *Iceland*, *Russia*, the farther *Romania*, *Bolghar* (or *Bulgaria*) *Besegert*, and *Begenak*. This is pretty nearly the idea he had of Europe and the northern regions. Many of those countries the reader will undoubtedly be able to recognize; others of them are totally unknown to us, in like manner as it is impossible to know again the greatest part of the towns in these countries.

The Prince of Hamath says, he knows in the north the countries of the *Franks* and of the *Turks*. Amongst them is the empire of *Buligab*, i. e. *Apulia*, *Kallafrijah* (*Calabria*) *Bafiliffa* (perhaps *Basilicata*, the ancient *Lucania*) *el-Mara* (i. e. *Morea*) part of which belonged to the Grecian Emperor, and part to a nation of the *Franks*, called *Kithalan*, i. e. *Catalonians*. Close by this is the land *Malfaguth* (or *Amalfi*) and to the westward the land *Iklerens*: then he describes *Rome*, and *St. Peter's church*: then follows the land *Toskan*, i. e. *Tuscany*, and the two *Borkans*, or *Volcanos*, one of which is in *Sicily*. The province *Ol-Kirm*, or *Crimea*, with the cities of *Solgat*, *Sudac*, and *Kafa*. Then he describes the *Bosphoras* and *Constantinople*. To the countries of the North appertains also *Kumager* *, a city in the empire

* *Kumager* seems to be the ruins of a large town, which are even at present to be found on the coast of the river *Kuma*, not far from the place where it receives the *Bywara*, and which is still called

empire of the *Tatar Borkab*, which lies in the middle between the Iron Port (*Derbend*) and *Azok*, or *Asoph*. Next to this lie the *Lokzi*, or *Lefgi*. In the habitable part of the North, are also the *Russian* countries, which are situated towards the north of the town *Balar* (or *Bulgaria*). Then follows *Barthanyab* (i. e. *Britania*) in the sea; *Berdil*, (*Burdegala*, *Bourdeaux*) *Schont Jakub*, a town in *Gallikijab*, i. e. *Gallicia*, and their capital *Samurab*, perhaps *Santa Maria*, or *San Maria*. *Piza*, or *Pischa*, i. e. *Pisa*. On the opposite side is the island *Sardanijab* (i. e. *Sardinia*) *Lombardia* (*Lombardy*) *Ganawab* (*Genoa*) *Bandakijab* (*Venice*). One of the citizens here is their Prince, and is called *Duk*. They are in possession of the island *Nakrapant*, i. e. *Negroponte*. *Rumijab el Kobra*, i. e. *Rome the Great*, situated on both sides the river *Tefri* (viz. the *Tiber*) the seat of the Caliph of the Christians, who is called *Al-Pap*. *Borschan*, or *Borgan*, the capital of the *Burgans*, i. e. *Burgundians*, who have been conquered by the *Allemanni*. *Itschanijab*, i. e. *Athens*, the city of the wise Greeks: *Konstantbinijab*, or *Buzantbijab*, i. e. *Constantinople*, or *Byzantium*. *Makdunijab*, the city of *Alexander the Great*. *Sakgi* (*Azak*, or *Asaph*) a town at the mouth of the *Tbana* (*Tanais*, or *Don*) where it empties itself into the sea *Nithaseb* (the *Palus Mæotis* and the *Black Sea*). *Abzu*, a town situated eastwards on the *Bosphorus*, or *Straits of Constantinople*. This is probably *Abydus*. *Akga Karman*, on the sea *Nithaseb*, is *Akierman*. *Tbernau* is situated at three days journey from *Sakgi*, or *Asaph*, and is therefore in all probability *Taganrok*. *Sari Karman* (probably a place called *Inkerman*, in the peninsula of *Crimea*) is five days journey from *Kirm*, or *Solgat*, i. e. *Esiki Crimea*. *Kerkri* is a Turkish word, signifying 40 men, and by this name is called a certain very strong castle on the top of an inaccessible mountain.

called *Madfchiar*. This is the town which Prince *Abulfeda* means, and, from the situation on the *Kuma*, it may perhaps formerly have been called *Kumager*, just as a part of the *Hungarians*, or *Madfchieri*, from the circumstance of their dwelling near this river, were called *Kumani*, or *Komani*.

Cloſe

Clofe by it is the higheft mountain of all, *Gbater Theg* (at present called *Tfchettirda*). *Sudac* is a fortified harbour, (and ftill bears the fame name.) *Sulgat* was formerly called *el Kerm*, but at present the province is called by this name. (In our times *Ejki-Krim*). *Kafa* lies on a plain to the eaft of *Sudac*, and is a port and ftaple town; oppofite to it is *Tharapezun* (*Trebifond*) but to the eaft and the north is the defart of *Kaptfebiak*. *Ol-Kars* (now called *Kerfch*) is a fmall town between *Kaffa* and *Azok*, at the mouth of the fea of *Azok*. *Azok* is a famous city at the mouth of the *Thana*, in the fea of *Azok*, which in ancient books is called the fea of *Manitafch**, or *Manjetz*. *Serai***, a large town, and the refidence of the Tartars, which in my (viz. *Abufeda*'s) time, are the *Ufbecs*. It is fituated in the plain, at the diftance of two days journey from the *Caspian Sea*, to the fouth-eaft. The river *Atol*, i. e. *Wolga****, runs from the north-weft to the fouth-eaft; on the northern coaft of it is *Sarai*. (The remains of this great town are ftill to be found on this fpot.) *Okak* is a town on the

* The fea of *Azof* having formerly in ancient writings been called *Manitafch*, and the fmall lakes and the river *Manjetz*, even in thefe days deriving their names from it, feems to be a frefh proof in favour of the opinion of Mr. *Pallas*, that the *Black* and *Caspian Seas* were formerly connected with each other by thefe parts, and both together made but one fea.

** *Sarai* was an ancient refidence of the people who formerly inhabited this country; but by which of them it has been built, is as difficult to afcertain as the true fituation of it. On the banks of the *Achiuba*, or the eaftward arm of the *Wolga*, from which it feparated near *Zarizin*, feveral remains of very ancient buildings have been found, fome to the north-eaft of *Zarizin*, and others to the eaft, near *Charachudfchir* and *Zarewpod*, as alfo lower down near *Dfchigit* and *Selitrannoi-Gorodok*. What *Abufeda* fays of its being at the diftance of two days journey from the *Caspian Sea*, fhould rather point out *Selitrannoi-Gorodok*, than *Zarewpod* for this place. It appears to have been built by *Batu Khan*, between the years 1256 and 1266.

*** *Atol* is the name of the *Wolga*, amongft the *Ruffian Tartars*, who, ftrictly fpeaking, call it *Idel*, or *Atel*; which the *Tfchuwafchi* have transformed into *Adal*. This word fignifies a river in general, whence the *Tfchuwafchi* call the *Wolga*, *Afliadal*, or the *Great River*; but the *Kama* they call *Schorab-adal*, i. e. the *White River*, becaufe the water of it is whiter than that of the *Wolga*; the river *Wiaska* the Tartars call *Naukred Idel*. The *Calmucks* tranflate the word *Atel* by *Btfeil*. The *Morduans*, on the contrary, have given to the *Wolga* the name of the *Rbau*, which perfectly refembles the denomination *Rba*, made ufe of by *Ptolemy*.

western shore of the *Atbol* (or *Wolga*) half way between *Sarai* and *Bolar*. The empire called *Ardu*, which belongs to the Tartarian king of *Borkab*, extends as far as *Okak*. [This *Okak* is undoubtedly *Uwjeck*, which lies 7 wersts to the south of *Saratof*, and was formerly a famous Tartarian town.] *Bolar* or *Bolgar* *, a town in the most remote part of the habitable northern countries, to the eastward of the *Atbol* (or *Wolga*) at no great distance from the river. This town has three baths; the inhabitants are Mahometans, and belonging to the sect of the Hanefites. Here grow no summer fruits on account of the intense cold; neither are there any grapes. According to the relation of an inhabitant of these parts, there is hardly any end to the days in summer, and the nights are but very short; which, indeed, is very probable; the town being situated in upwards of 48 degrees of northern latitude, and, agreeable to the principles of astronomy, subject to a very long twilight. *Balangar*, or *Atbol*, is the capital of the *Chozars*.

Such is the information furnished by the Arabians on the subject of the geography of the North, down to the year 1321.

So early as about the second century, the *Huns* had made approaches towards lake *Aral* and the Caspian Sea, and inhabited these regions; soon after which they turned their thoughts to still greater enterprizes, which under Attila, in the years 434, 454, were crowned with amazing success; his dominions extending from China quite into Gaul. As to his sons, some of them remained masters of the country from Dacia as far as Noricum; others retired towards the Don, and some crossing

* *Bolgar* is in our days still called *Bogari*, and contains the remarkable and beautiful ruins which Mr. Pallas has described and given drawings of in his travels, part i. pa. 121, & seq. The Arabian inscriptions bear date, A. D. 1226—1341. The Armenian reach from 1161 to 1578. It is not in the least improbable then, that this town of *Bolgar* was known to *Abulfeda*, who wrote as late as in the year 1321. The first Bulgarians the Europeans were acquainted with, were probably a tribe of Turks.—They seem to have been even at that time civilized to a considerable degree, as appears from their ornaments, furniture, dress, coins, and edifices. There were, indeed, many Armenians amongst them.

the Don, withdrew to Mount Caucasus; and all the subjects of the powerful empire of the Huns recovered their liberties. The Turks, a people who at first had dwelled to the southwards, on the banks of the lake *Saissan*, of the river *Irtysch*, and on Mount *Altai*, retired in the sixth century to the eastward of lake Aral, and of the Caspian Sea. Here they spread out by degrees into their numerous tribes, as *Chazars*, *Petschenegs*, *Uzes*, *Polovzes*, *Bulgars*, &c. and took possession of the whole southern part of Russia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Crimea. These were the people whose possessions and situation Constantine Porphyrogenetes describes in his *Themata*. They were also the best soldiers of the Arabians and their Caliphs, after this latter nation was enervated by luxury and despotism. In consequence of this circumstance they soon arrived at such a pitch of power, that they used to dispose at pleasure of the throne of Bagdad, and even took into their own hands the administration of the larger provinces. At length, some of their princes established great empires, in which they governed for a while in an independent manner, till the Moguls, under the command of *Zinghis-Khan* and his descendants, over-ran with their armies almost the greatest part of Asia, and a considerable part of Europe, as far as Breslaw. Many of these in Asia adopted the religion of Mahomed, and the Arabian letters, as also the use of the Persian language; by which means they both acquired a great deal of information, and became very much refined in their manners. In Persia, under the auspices of *Holaku-Chan*, *Nassir-Eddin* drew up a table of the longitudes and latitudes of places, for the purpose of correcting his astronomical observations. The same thing was done immediately upon this by the nephew of the great Timur, *Ulug Bek*, who likewise in the year 1437, composed tables of the latitudes and longitudes of places, for the purpose of correcting his astronomical observations. These are in many points so similar to each other, that it is very evident that the prince has made use of the work of the Persian astronomer.

Of the countries to the North of the Caspian and Black Sea, both of them have particularly mentioned the three Empires of *Chozar*,
Rus,

Rus, and *Bolgar*. In the first of these is *Balangar*, the capital of the king of the *Chozars*, which Abulfeda likewise had before denominated *Athol* and *Balangar*. The Chozars lived in Crimea, and in the desert plains of *Nagai*; but it is impossible at this present period of time to point out their capital. The town called *Kujavak*, must certainly be *Kiew* (or *Kiow*). But *Saksin*, the second Russian town, it is also impossible to indicate with any degree of certainty. Finally, in the empire of *Bolgar*, there is mentioned a city of the same name. What knowledge these people had of *Korasan*, *Choaresm*, and *Mawaralnakan*, does not deserve to be noticed here, many of these places being extremely well known at present. But for certain reasons, we will give the reader an account of what information they had concerning *Turkestan*, or those countries which in our days are called the lesser Bukharia, the country of the *Kalkas-Mongols*, and the northern part of China. To this country belongs *Choten*, a well known town in the Lesser Bukharia, the capital of a small empire, which at present is subject to the Chinese. *Almalig*, a town in a country called *Gete*, not far from Mount *Arjatu*. When, in the year 1490, Timur prepared to make war against this country of *Gete*, his army marched from *Taschkent* near the *Sihon*, to *Lake Isskol*, not far from *Barket*, or *Barek*; then they came to *Gheuktopa*, from thence to the mount called *Arjatu*, and so to the town *Almalig*. They then crossed the river *Ab-Eile*, came to *Itschna-Butschna*, and *Uker Keptadschi*, and, finally, arrived on the banks of the *Irtish*, where they learned that Prince *Kamareddin* was gone into the marten-and-sable forests of *Daulas*. Hence it follows that this place is situated between *Taschkent* and the *Irtish*, and, indeed, on this side the river *Ab-Eile*, which at this day empties itself into the *Sihon*. And as the armies of Timur returned over lake *Eutrakgheul*, situated near *Haraschar*, and hastened by the way of *Aksu* to *Samarkand* on account of the winter approaching; this *Almalig* must not be confounded with *Kabalig*, *Bisbbalig*, and still less with *Karacorum*, the seat of the Moguls on the

river and lake *Ongbin*. A Florentine named *Francisco Balducci Pegoletti*, (whose travels till lately lay buried in oblivion, when they were first drawn out of it by the references made to them by Professor *Sprengel*) described at so early a period as the year 1335, the route from *Azof* to *Peking*, and in this route, at a distance of 45 days journey (travelling on asses) beyond *Otrar*, he places the town of *Armalecco*, which undoubtedly is *Almalig* in the land of *Gete*, to the north-east of *Taschkent*, and on this side of the *Irtisch*.—The two geographers next lay down *Kabalig*, a place not known to modern times, more to the eastwards of *Almalig*. Then *Autan Keluran* (likewise unknown) still more to the east than *Karakum*.—Farther they have *Bischnalik*, a place probably the same with that which the Chinese call *Ilialik*, which consequently is situated on the banks of the river *Ili*. Then comes *Karakum*, i. e. the *black sand*, a place which was also called *Karakorum*, and used to be the residence of the Mogul Emperors, of the race of *Zinghis Khan*. Finally, they speak of *Chanbalik*, or *Cambalik*, which is what is now called *Peking*. The Florentine continues the route from *Almalig* by the way of *Camexu*, which must certainly be *Cami*, or *Hamil*, with the addition of *Tscheu*, which means a town, and is a word which the Chinese use to add to the name of every place of the least consideration, and which the Florentine has endeavoured to express by the syllable *xu*. This town was known to the famous traveller, *Marco Polo* of Venice. From the former of these places to the latter it is 70 days journey. *Pegoletti* next reckons 65 days journey to a river, of which he has not given us the name, but informs us, that from this river it is easy to come to *Kassai*. This *Kassai*, is *Kissen*, a place on the great river *Kara-Muren*, or *Hoang-ho*. From hence it is 30 days journey to *Gamalecco*, the capital of the land *Gattai*, i. e. *Kambalig*, in the land of *Kathay*, by which is meant the northern part of China.

These countries, though they have been frequently laid waste by various great revolutions and the hostile attacks of barbarous and uncivilized nations, have nevertheless retained, better than could have been expected, the names of their towns, rivers, lakes, &c. through so
many

many centuries : for the want of good and drinkable water in those countries, is an obstruction to the building of towns or cities in every part of them. The cities therefore are suffered to remain, and their names are preserved, even after conquests ; and for a similar reason the names of the rivers and lakes are preserved with equal care, viz. on account of these subjects being so rare, and so seldom to be met with. The people too of those countries have almost always spoken the same, or at least a kindred language, a circumstance which has likewise contributed to preserve so well the names of the rivers and lakes.

By what has been said above, it appears, that these fragments of the knowledge possessed by the Oriental Nations with respect to our northern parts of the globe, are very imperfect. For though it must be owned that these people made extensive military expeditions, and over-ran a great many countries, yet at the same time it must be observed that they were not much addicted to writing ; and such of them as were actually possessed of learning, seldom wrote on Geographical subjects, or, if they did, their performances were very defective.

Kublai-Khan indeed was the first Emperor of the Moguls, who fitted out a large fleet on that part of the eastern ocean called the Chinese Sea, which he did for the purpose of conquering *Nipon*, or, as *Marco Polo* says, *Zipangri*. This enterprise however miscarried, in consequence of the intervention of a violent and destructive storm, and of other misfortunes *.

G 2

C H A P.

* *Kublai-Khan* reigned from the year 1259 to 1294 of the Christian æra, when he sent a fleet and army to *Nipon* (or *Japan*), for the purpose of conquering that country. The ships composing this fleet, were very much shattered by the storm, and it is probable that some of them may not have been able to get back to Japan and China. About this period there sprung up in America, almost at one and the same time, two great empires (those of Mexico and Peru) which had regular institutes of religion ; notions of rank and subordination, were in some measure civilized, were connected with each other by various kinds of association, practised agriculture, and in the matrimonial state did not allow of polygamy. In Mexico, indeed, they even had a kind of hieroglyphic writing, together with many other marks of cultivation ; notwithstanding

C H A P. II.

Of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North, by the Saxons, Franks, and Normans.

THE Roman empire having been ravaged and brought low by many foreign nations, and particularly by those which were of German origin, insomuch that the Romans were unable to oppose them in all parts of the empire; some provinces suffered exceedingly from these ravages. Britain had to the northward very troublesome enemies in the *Picts* and *Scots*, while the southern part of it suffered by the depredations of the *Franks* and *Saxons*. The British nation implored the assistance of the Roman Chief, *Ætius*, which he however refused them. In this situation nothing more was left for them, than forthwith to call the Saxons to their succour. Accordingly, A. D. 449, these latter went to Britain; not however to deliver Britain from oppression, but rather to conquer it, and to take possession of it in form for themselves. The first party was soon followed by others, and, in a short time after, Britain was parcelled out, under the Anglo-Saxons, into seven small kingdoms. As to the unfortunate Britains, some of them were brought under the yoke, and made slaves of, or (as they were then called) *Villains*: others retired into the mountains of *Galloway*, *Cumberland*, *Wales*, and *Cornwall*, in the western part of the island; while others crossed the sea, and took refuge in the country called after them *Britany*. But it seems that these people had for a long time before been used to infest

standing that both these empires are surrounded on all sides by savage and rude nations very considerable in point of extent, and are besides at a distance from each other. Now all this favours the supposition, that these two colonies came thither by sea, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; perhaps they are some of the people that were lost in the expedition to Japan, their ships having been driven by the storm to America.

the coasts of France and Britain by sea with their depredations, inſomuch that the Romans gave to a certain tract of the French and Britiſh coaſts the appellation of the *Saxon Boundaries*; and placed them under the protection of a Count [*Comes littoris Saxonici.*] Neither did the *Franks*, who had been conquered by the Emperor Probus, and whom he had tranſplanted to Pontus, forget that they formerly had lived on the ſea coaſt, and had made piracy their profeſſion and livelihood; for as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered, they ſeized upon what ſhips they met with, and ravaged all the lands lying along the coaſts of Aſia minor and Greece; and then, ſetting ſail for Sicily, ſurpriſed the city of *Syracuſe*, famous for its navigations, where they killed a great number of people. After they had plundered the whole African coaſt, from which however they were at length repulſed by ſome troops ſent againſt them from Carthage, they proceeded to the Straits of Gibraltar, in the Great Ocean, and arrived at laſt, enriched with ſpoils, amongſt their countrymen, between the Rhine and the Weſer (*a*). Such a naval expedition as the above-mentioned certainly reflects great honour on this enterpriſing people, particularly when we conſider the ſhips of thoſe days and the miſerable condition of theſe veſſels; as alſo, how few they had of thoſe aids which are requiſite to navigation, being poſſeſſed neither of charts nor compaſſes, and (as being in ſo rude and uncultivated a ſtate) having but a very imperfect knowledge of aſtro-nomy. It ſhould ſeem, nevertheleſs, that theſe *Franks*, thus tranſ-planted to the interior part of the Pontus, on the Black Sea, muſt have had ſome conception of the ſituation of the countries they viſited, and of the ancient place of their reſidence; for it is contrary to every dictate of common-ſenſe, to imagine, that they ſhould by mere acci-dent have got juſt into the tract which led to their native country. This and other ſuch enterpriſes gave the Frankiſh tribes courage, to-gether with ſkill in naval matters, and at the ſame time inſpired yet more of them with a diſpoſition to piracy and navigation. Accord-

(*a*) Zoſim. Lib. i. paragr. 66. edit. Oxon. Eumén in panegy. Conſtantii Cæſaris. Cap. 18.—and Vopifcuſ in probu.

ingly they went with numerous fleets and armies over to England, where the city of London, which even at that early period was grown rich by commerce, fell into their hands. But Constantius Cæsar beat them soon after, and delivered England from these cruel marauders.

Besides the Franks and Saxons, who seem to have acquired considerable knowledge of the maritime affairs and countries of the North; we also find, that about the year 753 of the Christian æra, the Danes ventured with their ships as far as *Thanet* on the Kentish coast, and ravaged the country. These were followed by three other Danish ships, which came from *Heredalande*, and the crews of which even landed A. D. 787 in *Wessex*, that part of the island which fell to the share of King *Britbrik* (or *Beorhtric*). In the year 793, the Convent called *Lindisfarne*, on the island which is now called *Holy-Island*, was plundered of every thing in it by the Danes; who having acquired additional courage in consequence of the considerable booty they had made there, the year immediately following, viz. 794, plundered likewise the Convent on the mouth of the *Tyne*, which had been built there by King *Egfrid*. It was no unpleasing circumstance to these Heathens to find that the good monks had preserved in their convents such immense riches, which it was customary for the Christians of those days, in consequence of the opinion they entertained of the merit of good works, to heap up with bountiful hands in these repositories.

The still more remote country of *Ireland* was not secure from the predatory invasions of the Danes. So early as in the year 795, they appeared on the coasts of that island, and, after having ravaged the *Orkneys* and the *Western Islands*, they made their appearance again so early as in 798 in *Ulster*, which province suffered greatly from their ravages. But long before this period the Normans had made some predatory incursions into Ireland, as appears from the life of St. Findanus, who was of a noble family in that country, and had been carried off from thence by them. These pirates afterwards landed on the Orkney.

(b) Scriptores rerum Alemannicarum Goldasti, Tom. i. p. 202.

Islands, when Findanus ran away from them, and, after having undergone various fortunes, having wandered through France and Lombardy, and remained four years in Alemania, he finally, in the year 700, embraced a monastic life.

In general, we may observe, as an acknowledged fact, that all the different nations and people, which afterwards were known to the world under the denominations of Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, were not distinguished by these names in the earliest ages; as the countries they inhabited were not at that time divided, so as to admit of it. Every petty district, sometimes even a small island, had its peculiar sovereign. No general name consequently could be bestowed on the whole country taken collectively*. The petty sovereigns in these countries seem to have been mere feudatory lords, or lords of manors, who undertook expeditions by sea as well as by land with their vassals. Their mother-country, as well on account of the small quantity of cattle on it, as in consequence of the neglected state of agriculture, was very unfruitful**: they therefore, after their subjects had once experienced the beneficial emoluments accruing from a piratical expedition, found no great difficulty in persuading them to fresh undertakings of this nature. The first ships, which the northern nations made use of, were boats, either hollowed out of large trunks of trees, or else made of wicker, and cased over with leather†. Long ships, of a larger size, were

* The names however of *Suionæ*, in Tacitus, and of *Nerigon*, in Pliny, seem to have been general names of these countries; yet it is much to be doubted, whether they are to be taken in that sense in which they have been used since. Nevertheless we have the word *Dania* in so early a writer as *Guido of Ravenna*, who probably wrote his book in the 7th century.

** *Ohther* told king *Alfred*, that he was in possession of twenty beaves, twenty sheep, and as many swine; and that the trifling quantity of land that he had in tilth, he ploughed with horses; and yet *Ohther* was one of the richest and most considerable men in his country. In like manner *Adam of Bremen*, affirms, that *Nordmanland* is very barren, without chusing to determine, however, whether this barrenness is to be ascribed to the coldness of the country or to the mountains with which it is covered. *Adamus de situ Danicæ ad calcem Hist. Eccles.* Cap. 238. parag. 146. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595, 4to.

† Boats like these, made of wicker and cased over with leather, are called *Coracles* in England, where they are still in use on the rivers *Dee* and *Severn*; in Ireland they are termed *Carachs*, *Cæsar*,

were called Chiule, Cyule, Ceol (an appellation, whence the German and English term "*ship's keel*," is derived, as well as the English word *Keelman*, i. e. people who work in the vessels belonging to the colliers. With these two kinds of vessels, neither of which were of any considerable size, the latter of them carrying 200 men at the most, these northern nations undertook their piratical expeditions. But the smallness of the number of men on board each vessel was amply compensated by the multitude of the vessels themselves. Inasmuch that even *Tacitus*, in those early ages, makes mention of the fleets of the *Suionæ*. This people appears to have spread at first within the boundaries of the Baltic to Finland, *Ethonia*, and *Courland*, whither it was very easy for them to pass over from *Gothland*. The *Normans*, or rather the *Norwegians*, followed their own coast, according to *Ohther's* description; consequently they circumnavigated the extreme point of their peninsula, and of Europe, viz. the North Cape, and coming at last to the *Cwen Sea*, arrived at the *Dwina* and among the *Biarmians* that lived on its banks. The *Danes* sailed along the coast as far as the British Channel, and at length went to Britain itself.

At the end of the 8th century the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, who, taken collectively, bore the name of *Normans*, ventured to go to England, Scotland, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the Western

Cæsar, so early as in his time, found them in Britain, and made use of them himself. *Cæsar de bello civili* parag. 259. Ed. Elzev. 1635. *Lucani Pharsal. Lib. iv. v. 131. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. iv. cap. 16. vii. cap. 57. Solin. Polyhist. cap. 25.* The *Esquimaux* and *Greenlanders*, and likewise the *Kamtschadalles* have ships made of fish bones, with a few wooden clumps and bends, and covered over with the skins of Marine animals. The people last-mentioned call them *Baidars*. Even the *Greeks* made use of boats of wicker, covered with leather, which they took with them on board of their large ships, calling them *καράβια*, and in Latin *Carabi*. From this kind of craft the *Russians* have in all probability taken their term for a ship, which they call a *Korabl'*. It is certain, that the vessels belonging to the *Saxon* pirates were made of leather. For in the poem upon *Avisus*, this circumstance is mentioned expressly:

Quin et armoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Spirabat, cui pelle salum fulcare Britannum
Ludus, et affûto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Islands,

Islands, and even to Ireland; all which places they made the subjects of their depredations, carrying with them, wherever they went, desolation and slaughter. At length they succeeded in making themselves masters of Ireland, and remained such from the year 807 to 815. The Orkneys, the Shetland and Western Islands, were now in like manner regularly peopled by the Normans. Some of them even formed the resolution of fixing themselves in Ireland. The attempt, however, did not succeed immediately, and they were obliged to put off the execution of their design to a more convenient time.

The booty and wealth which they carried home, incited others among them to advance with their fleet along the coast of Britain to France, where, as has been observed, they first landed in 820, not having dared, in the reign of *Charles the Great*, to invade that coast. The indolence of Charles's successors, and the civil wars in which they were continually engaged, put it out of their power to make the necessary preparations on the northern coast of France for repelling the Normans, who, rather excited than discouraged by the weak resistance they met with, repeated their attacks so frequently, that at last they prepared to make a complete conquest of these countries, and take possession of them.

Though *Egbert* in England, upon the union of the lesser Saxon divisions, or, as they are called, the *Heptarchy*, became a powerful Sovereign, yet the Normans did not suffer themselves to be intimidated by his power; but, in 832, made an attack on the Kentish coast, in which they met with success, carrying off with them abundance of booty; though, the following year, having landed in Dorsetshire, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

About the year 835, the Normans went to Ireland, under their leader *Turges*, and maintained possession of their conquest for the space of 30 years.

In 840 a fleet fitted out by these people, made for the coast of France, where, having penetrated into the internal part of the kingdom, they committed great ravages. Some of them indeed, in 844, proceeded

as far as to the coast of Andalusia; and even *Pisa*, in Italy, together with the once-flourishing city of *Luna*, was brought into subjection by them, A. D. 857. But these were, in fact, their expeditions to the South, which we shall content ourselves with barely mentioning in this place.

Their voyages, on the other hand, were continually more and more extended likewise in the northern regions. In the year 859 they went eastward to the coast of *Esstbonia*, and brought the inhabitants of it under subjection, and in 862, three Normans, who were brothers, founded a new sovereignty in *Nowgorod* and its vicinity.

Just about this time, viz. in 861, one of these pirates, of the name of NADDODD, was thrown by a storm on an island never before discovered; and called it, on account of the snow which lay on the high mountains belonging to it, *Schnee*, or *Snow-land*. Naddodd was but a very short time in this newly-discovered island; yet it appeared to him a very good country; in consequence of which a Swede, by name GARDAR SUAFARSSON, who was settled in Denmark, undertook an expedition to Snowland in 864; and having sailed quite round it, named it *Gardarholm*, i. e. Gardar's Island. Here likewise he spent the winter; and going to Norway in the subsequent spring, reported that this newly-discovered country was entirely covered with wood, and in other respects was a fine tract of land. This account of the place induced another Swede, of the name of *Flocke*, who by his voyages had acquired a great name, as well as the confidence of the people in the north, also to go thither. He arrived safe: but having wintered there likewise, on the northern side of the island met with a great quantity of drift ice, on which account he gave this island the name of *Iceland*, a name it still bears. It should seem too that he was not at all pleased with the country, since he described it, on his return to Norway, as a very indifferent soil and situation. Some of his companions, on the contrary, gave it out as a country flowing with milk and honey. These contradictory reports seem to have damped in many people the desire of visiting this island. At last, in the year 874, INGOLF, and his friend LIEF, resolved upon making another trial. Accordingly, these

these two friends repaired thither together, and the country was so far from appearing to them in a bad light, that, on the contrary, its natural advantages induced them to settle there, which they did about four years afterwards. Ingolf took thither people, cattle, and all kinds of necessary tools and implements; and Lief, who in the mean time had been in England to the wars, carried thither his booty. The first discoverers of this island, from the circumstance of their having found some Irish books, Bells and Bishops Croziers on it, imagined that some people from Ireland had resided there previously to this period. But it appears more probable to me, that a party of Norman pirates, who had previously landed in Ireland, and carried off from thence a considerable booty, and among other things the above-mentioned articles, had been driven thither by a storm, as had been the case with Naddodd, and left these articles behind them.

The contradictory reports concerning this country by the people who first visited it, must certainly have been exaggerated on both sides. However, it may be observed, that although those who first inhabited the island, doubtless considered it as an advantageous spot; yet, the posture of affairs in the North at that juncture, probably contributed much to their settlement in this cold region*.

About this time, HAROLD SCHOENHAAR, one of the petty sovereigns in Norway, began to conquer and bring into subjection the other chiefs of that country; and in 875, established the Norwegian monarchy. GORM THE ANCIENT likewise attacked all his neighbours round him, and united the petty states in Jutland and the Danish islands into one: as INGIALD ILLRODE had done long before in Sweden. It was impossible for such great changes in the posture of affairs, and those so contrary to the old establishments, to be effected

* The first discoverers of Iceland found forests of a considerable extent on the island; and there are still to be seen in different parts of it, the roots and stumps of large fir-trees, which confirm this assertion. We know likewise from authentic information, that corn has been cultivated in Iceland; though at present, excepting a few stunted birch-trees, and other underwood, there is not a tree on the island, and no corn will grow on it. The fact is, that the straits between *Old* (or the *Eastern* part of) Greenland and Iceland, having been for many years past choaked up with ice, have occasioned a great change in the temperature of this latter island.

without making a vast number of malcontents. These, at this juncture, found a sure refuge in Iceland; and at length so many, even among the great people, and some indeed of the blood royal, repaired to the new asylum, that King Harold thought proper, by way of putting a stop in some measure to these emigrations, to publish an edict, according to the tenor of which, no man was allowed to go to Iceland without previously paying to the king half a mark of standard silver. The great wealth accumulated by the piratical practices of the whole collective body of bold Normans in these regions from the year 516, when they first appeared off the French or Gallic coast (and consequently during a period of more than 360 years) must necessarily have extended the power of some of their petty sovereigns, and at the same time must have produced a gradual change in the manners, way of living, sentiments, and political establishments of the northern nations. Accordingly, it appears to me, that these very piratical expeditions laid in some measure the foundation of the political changes that happened almost at one and the same time in the northern kingdoms.

In the course of their expeditions, the people of these kingdoms became acquainted with the different states of Christendom in the South. On this occasion it was, that the most zealous among the monks, as well as many others, whose sole view was the acquisition of riches, and to lead a voluptuous life, resolved at length to get sent out to these countries as bishops. Consequently, Christ and his pretended vicegerent, the pope, were soon preached among these people. The scriptures were introduced every where; codes of law were compiled and committed to writing; and the rude and wild way of life of those people was considerably humanized. Commerce and various arts, as well as improvements in agriculture, gained ground; and these barbarous regions became in some measure enlightened, and the manners of their inhabitants refined.

In the mean time the Danes had again invaded England, and that with so much success, that King ALFRED, in the beginning of his reign was obliged to relinquish it entirely to the ravages of these

these plunderers. In Ireland they erected a sovereignty at *Dublin*, which fell to the share of AINLAV, or OLAF, as that at *Waterford* did to SITRIK, and that at *Limerick* to YWAR. In the year 868, the *Ferro*, or *Sheep* Islands were discovered, and afterwards peopled, no inhabitants having been found on them. In like manner the *Orkneys* too were peopled with Normans, as also the *Shetland* Islands. The same advantages attended the *Hebrides*, or *Western* Islands, as they are now called, though by the Normans, who came to them from the North and the *Orkneys*, they were denominated the *Southern* Islands *.

But soon after this, Alfred emerging from his retirement, on a sudden made his appearance, and his subjects by his appointment likewise coming forward at a certain fixed time, immediately fell on the Danes quite unawares, and made great havock amongst them. Alfred did not chuse to dispatch the remainder of his vanquished foes; but gave them their lives, and permitted them to live in North-umberland, a province which had been laid waste and depopulated by their countrymen. By this humane conduct he gained the heart even of many of the Danes. Among others, there was a Norman at his court, by name OHTHER, who had made himself famous by his travels. There was another too, a Jutlander, of the name of WULFSTAN, who in like manner gave the king an account of his travels into Russia. All these accounts the learned Prince collected with great care; and having purposed to give a translation of the *Ormeſta* of OROSIUS, in the Anglo-Saxon, his mother-tongue, he interwove in this translation the relations of Ohther and Wulfstan, with the result of the information he had got elsewhere concerning the state of

* It was only by the Scotch that (on account of their western situation with respect to them) they were termed the Western Islands; but the Danes, who went to them from the North, gave them the name of Soderö; hence originates the title of the bishop, in whose diocese these islands were, together with the Isle of Man; as he still is called, though the reason of it be not rightly known, Bishop of *Soder* and *Man*. But it is easy to perceive that this *Soder* can be no other than the *Sodaroë* of the Danes. [Or rather the *Sodoar*, by contraction from the Swedish *Soder*, South and *Oar* Islands] Note of the translator.

the three parts of the world known at that period. It is very evident, from comparing them together, that Alfred's account of Europe is not that of Orosius, but rather that the English Prince has principally set before us the state of Europe as it was in his own time. In fact we are possessed of such slender information concerning the Geography of the middle ages, that such an exhibition as this is of Europe and the northern regions conformable to the ideas of that age, and that from so respectable a source, must be extremely valuable. I shall therefore in this place insert that part of it, which respects the North of Europe.

The Geography of the Northern parts of EUROPE, according to King Alfred, almost literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon.

Now will I also state those (i. e. the boundaries) of Europe, as much as we are informed concerning them. From the river Danais (Tanais) westward to the river Rhine (which takes its rise in the Alps, whence it runs northward to the arm of the Ocean (1), that surrounds Britannia, and south to the river Donua (or Danube) (2), whose source is near that of the Rhine, and runs eastward in the north of Greece, till it empties itself into the *Wendel Sea* (or Mediterranean) (3) and north even unto the ocean, which men call *Cwen Sea* (or the White

(1) Alfred calls the Great Sea, or Ocean, *Garfeg*, a word of which I cannot find the origin, either in the German language or any of its kindred dialects. A little narrow sea he constantly calls *Sae*, or *Sea*.

(2) In the original the Danube is constantly called the *Donua*.

(3) As directly at the commencement of the Mediterranean Sea, where it joins the Atlantic Ocean, is situated the province of Andalusia, in Spain, which province derives its name from the Wandals or Vandals, who inhabited it; and as these Vandals afterwards lived in Africa, on the coasts of the Mediterranean, it is not at all to be wondered at, that Alfred, a prince descended from German ancestors, should call this part of the Mediterranean by the name of *Wendel-Sea*, a name of German origin.

Sea) (4). Within this are many nations, and the whole of this tract of country is called *Germany* (5).

Hence to the north of the source of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine, are the *East Franks* (6), and to the south of them are the *Swaefas*, or *Suevae* (7); on the opposite bank of the Danube, and to the south and east are the *Baegthware* (8), in that part which is called *Regnesburgh* (9).

Due

(4) It is well known, that the ancient inhabitants of the north made a distinction between the *Cwenas* and the *Laplanders*, by the former understanding the Finlanders, so that *Cwenland*, according to them, was *Finland*. Hence it is easy to perceive, that Adam of Bremen, when he speaks of the *Amazons* and of the *Land of Females*, as being *Cwenland*, totally mistakes the signification of the word *Cwenland*. *Cwen*, in the northern languages, means a *woman*; in that of Iceland it is *Kvinna*. Ulphilas calls a woman *Quens*, *Quino*; in the Anglo-Saxon dialect it is *Kwen*; in the Alemannic, *Quena*. Hence the English have got the word *Queen*. Now, as previous to this period the Finlanders inhabited all this tract as far as *Halfingeland*; *Cwenland* consequently reached as far as this spot; in process of time, the *Suecons* and *Goths*, continually advancing farther and farther towards the north, the Finlanders at last had nothing left but what is still called *Finland*, and consequently *Cwenland* was much diminished in extent. Adam of Bremen has, throughout his whole treatise, confounded the proper name of *Kwehn*, i. e. the *Kwehn* nation, or *Kwehn* country, with *Kwen*, or *Quinn*. It is likewise observable, that where this *Kwehn* Sea was situated, it was *Garfæg*, as Alfred calls it, or *Ocean*, and not a Sea like the Mediterranean or the Baltic. Consequently this *Kwehn* Sea was the *White Sea*, and no part of the Baltic.

(5) By consequence all that tract of country which is included between the Rhine, Danube, Don, and Dwina, the *White Sea*, and the *Ocean*, was at that period *Germany*. The northern *Waraegrians* were become masters of the whole of *Russia*; therefore the whole country, as far as the *Don*, or *Tanais*, was *Germany*, according to the royal Geographer, and in fact, every place where the Germans bore the sway.

(6) The *East Franks* were to be found in that part of *Germany*, which reached from the Rhine to the *Saale*; in the North, to the *Ruhr* and *Cassel*; and in the South, almost to the *Necker*; or, according to *Eginhard*, from *Saxony* to the *Danube*. They were called *East Franks*, in order to distinguish them from the *Franks* that inhabited ancient *Gaul*.

(7) The *Swaefas* of the Royal Geographer make part of the Alemannic Confederacy, which however, posterior to this, gave to the whole nation and province the name of *Swabes*. Part of modern *Swabia* is comprised in this region, which, even in the times of Alfred and Jordan, was called by the name it now bears.

(8) *Baegthware*. That by this word is meant *Bavarians*, there is not the least doubt; but whence are they so called, is the question? It has been observed, that all names of people or nations, that end in *ware* or *warians*, as e. g. the *Amphivarians*, *Angrivarians*, *Boruarians*, *Chatuarians*, &c. indicate the remains of such tribe or people. Thus also the remainder of the *Boij*
that

Due east from hence are the *Beme* (10), and to the north-east the *Thyringas* (11); to the north of these are the *Old-Seaxan* (12), to the north-west are the *Frysan* (13), and to the west of *Old Seaxum* is the mouth of the *Aelfa* (or Elbe) (14), as also *Frysan* (or Friesland). Hence to the north-west is that land which is called *Angle* (15), *Sillende* (16), and some part of *Dena* (17).

To

that were exterminated by the Suevi, and who settled at Noricum, were called *Bojuvarians*. By the ancients they were termed *Boioarii*, or *Bajoarii*; so that the *Baegthwares* were the Boij or *Baeghten* remaining after the slaughter made of them by the Suevi. *Vid. Thunman's Nordische Völker. P. 40, 41.*

(9) *Regensburg* was, as we may gather from this expression of Alfred's, a province as well as a city. Perhaps the district of *Regensburg*; or *Ratibon*.

(10) The *Beme* are without dispute the present Bohemians, whom Alfred farther on mentions under the denomination of *Behemas*. This appellation they had from the word *Boierheim*, or Dwelling-place of the Boij, who were exterminated by the Suevi.

(11) We cannot easily mistake the *Thyringas*; and the situation of their country is still the same as it was in those ages; though the Thuringen of that period must necessarily have taken in a greater circuit than our modern Thuringen does; as the king of that country was at that time powerful enough to be able to wage war with the king of the Franks.

(12) By the words *Alt-Seaxan* and *Alt-Seaxum*, is meant the country that lies on the eastern side of the Elbe. It still preserves its ancient name, viz. *Old Sassen* (Old Saxony) or *Holsatia* in Latin, which by degrees has degenerated to its present denomination of *Holstein*. This country was of great importance in the eyes of King Alfred, as it was the habitation of his ancestors.

(13) Without dispute the Finlanders lived to the north-west of Thuringen, between the Elbe and the Rhine, along the sea coast; consequently they lay to the westward of *Old Saxony*, as Alfred afterwards indicates.

(14) This pronunciation of the word *Elbe* (*Aelfe*) is still retained in the Swedish language, and the names of places *Gotbaelf*, *Dalelsen*, still in use. *Elf*, taken in its general acceptation, signifies a river.

(15) The word *Hence* refers to *Old Seaxum*, and with respect to Old Saxony, *Angle* is, I believe, to the north-west, and not to the north-east, as the reviewer of my remarks upon Alfred asserts in the 6th part of the 2d volume of the *Gottingen Philological Library*. For the Angles were without dispute the assistants of the Saxons in their expedition to England, and indeed in all probability a peculiar branch of this nation; therefore probably they dwelt in Old Saxony, on the other side of the Oder; and the same situation had *Sillende*, or the isle of Zeeland, part of Denmark. I make this remark merely because it might otherwise have been imagined from the later situation of the *Engers* between East and West-phalia, that the *Engers*, *Engles* or *Angles*, had likewise resided on the western side of the Elbe. Alfred, in his description of Old Saxony, went on

in

To the north is *Apdrede* (18); and to the north-east the Wolds (19), which are called *Aelfeldan* (20); from hence eastward is *Winedaland* (21), which

in progression; so that first to the northwestward are the Angles, and then Denmark, to which also belongs the last-mentioned island, Zealand. It cannot, however, be denied, but that some of the Angles may have likewise resided on the Danish islands, as King Alfred himself tells us as much in Ohthere's relation.

(16) *Sillende*, and (17) *Dena*, are doubtless Zealand and Denmark.

(18) That the *Apdrede* are the *Obotrites*, no reasonable person will deny; though the pun-loving and pedantic writers of the Chronicles of the middle ages have gone so far as to make them out to be the *Abderites*. A little farther on, these people are likewise termed *Afdrede*. They are not, however, to the north of Old Saxony, but rather to the eastward of it. Perhaps the copyist inserted the word *North* instead of *East*. Or else we should read as follows: "To the North-east is *Apdrede*, and to the North the Wolds."

(19) (20) To the north-east of the *Obotrites* dwelled the *Wilzi*, the *Rami*, &c. But these it was not Alfred's intention to indicate, but merely the Wends, who lived on the *Havel*, and were termed *Hevelli*, or *Hæveldi*, and sometimes *Hevelduns*. This happy observation of the reviewer before alluded to is doubtless better than mine; only in that case, instead of north-east we must read south-east; for this is the situation of *Havelland* with respect to Old Saxony.

(21) (22) *Winedaland*, says Alfred, lies to the east of Old Saxony, and this is precisely the situation of Mecklenburg, where the Wendian *Sclavi* lived. They were called *Wends*, or *Vandals*, from the situation of their country near the sea; for *Woda*, or *Wanda*, signifies water, or *sea*; hence too they were denominated *Pomeranians*, i. e. people who lived by the sea side—*pro morio*. This is right also on another account, viz. because *Wulfstan*, in the sequel, expressly says, that *Weonodland* was always to the right hand of him in his journey from *Haethum* to *Ilfling*, and that the *Vistula* runs from *Weonodland* into the *Estmere*, or the *Haf*.

Consequently *Weonodland*, or *Winodland*, must have been the modern Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. The reviewer of my Comment, in the Philological Library, blames me for taking the Wends for the Lettovians, a mistake which I never committed. My map, indeed, plainly shews that I did not: I only said, that this people spoke the Lettovian or Prussian language, and therefore were different from the other *Sclavi*. They were, however, connected with the other branches of the *Sclavi*; and so were the Lettovians and Prussians, the words of whose language are even to this day, almost all *Sclavish*. I am likewise accused by this gentleman of having afterwards given up or else forgot the above-mentioned opinion of mine, and absolutely looked on this *Wendenland* on the *Vistula*, to be the Danish island of *Fuenen*. The fact is, however, that I have never altered my sentiments on this subject; but on the contrary, abide firmly by them, and moreover do not take the isle of *Fuenen* for this same *Wendenland*; but do no more than merely follow *Wulfstan* in this point, who, as soon as he is come out of the harbour of *Hæthum* has the country of *Weonothland* (not *Weonodland*) to the right of him; and *Langeland*, *Laeland*, *Falster*, and *Schonen*, to the left: then he comes to *Burgendaland*, *Blecinga*, *Meore*, *Eowland*, and *Gotland*: after this he mentions *Weonodland*, which at other times he calls *Winodland*, and was always to the right-hand of him.

which men call Syfyle (22). To the South-east at some distance is *Maroaro* (23); and these *Maroaro* have to the west the *Tbyringas* and *Bebemas*, as also part of the *Baegthware*; and to the south, on the other side of the *Donua*, is the country called *Carendra* (24).

Southwards towards and along the mountains which are called the *Alpis*, lie the boundaries of *Baegthware*, as also *Swaeva* (25); and then

him. To me nothing appears plainer than the difference between *Winodland* and *Wconotbland*; this latter lies near Langeland, the other to the west of the Vistula, along the sea coast. But with respect to *Syfyle*, it must be owned, that Alfred seems to have made a mistake. There is an inconsiderable place called *Suissi*, or *Susse*, which is situated on the Baltic, in Wagerland, between Travemunde and Entyn, and is still called *Syffel*. This is to the westward about the beginning of the tracts inhabited by the Wends. But there is another district, that of *Siufilli*, of which Dithmar, of Merseburg makes mention. It lies not far from the Mulda, below Eulenburg, in Saxony; and at this present time there is in that district a parish called *Seselitz*, or Seuselitz, or Seusedlitz. As this place was likewise inhabited by Wends, Alfred possibly might have heard of both these places, and mistaken the one for the other. For immediately after the *Wends* and *Syffe*, he speaks of the Moravians. This, in fact, is too great a leap. But this *Syffe* connects the Wends on the Baltic, who have likewise a *Syffel* in their country, with the Moravians, or rather with their neighbours the Delamensam, of whom mention is made farther on.

(23) By the *Maroaro* are meant the people of Moravia, so called from the river *Morava*, and the situation that is given them here, is likewise right. They lie to the south-east of old Saxony, at some distance from it. *Ofer summe dal.* Mr. Barrington's translation of this passage is very erroneous. When I wrote my remarks on *Ælfred's Orosius*, I had not the Anglo-Saxon original before me; as it was then in the hands of the printer; I therefore used Mr. Barrington's translation only, which I then supposed to be accurate; and was consequently now and then led into mistakes by it.

The assertion that *Moravia* (which at that time was a very powerful kingdom, under the auspices of *Swatopluk*, and consequently was of a much greater extent than it is at present) was bounded by Thuringia and Bohemia to the west, as well as by part of Bavaria, is perfectly agreeable to truth.

(24) *Carendra* must certainly be Carinthia, or the country of the *Carentani*, or *Carendars*, and this Carinthia includes Austria and Styria. The Carentini had their own peculiar princes, of some of which the names are known to us; as for example, *Beruth*, who put himself under the protection of the Franks in 732, and *Wonamir*, who assisted in taking the Hring of the Avari with Duke Henry of Forth in 796.

(25) The *boundaries* (or *Gemaere*) for the boundaries of Bavaria and Swabia to the South were the Alps.

to the eastward of the *Carendre Country*, and beyond the Waste (26), is *Pulgaraland* (27) (or Bulgaria); to the east is *Greeland* (28) (or Greece), to the east of *Maroara* is *Wisleland* (29), and to the east of that is *Datia* (30), though it formerly belonged to the *Gottan* (31) (or Goths). To the North-east of *Maroara* are the *Delamenfan* (32).

(26) It is somewhat singular, that the Reviewer, who has so frequently taken upon him to censure me, should here, of his own authority, put, by way of note (*Orig. westwards*). He cannot surely have looked at this passage very narrowly in the original; for there it stands word for word thus: *And thence be easter Carendranlands beyondan thom westenne is Pulgaraland*. So that Ælfred expressly says, "eastward;" and the word *westenne* does not signify west, but a *waste* or desert. For just hereabouts it was that the Awari were so much thinned by Charlemagne, that their pristine habitations were a perfect desert. Nay, this very circumstance shews, that the accounts here given us by Ælfred coincides exactly with what passed in his time; for so soon after as in 893, the Madfchiari (or Hungarians, as they are now called) came and took possession of this tract of country. The geography of this part therefore is very accurate and exact, and not so full of chasms and contradictions as the reviewer above-mentioned would make us believe.

(27) By *Pulgaraland* is meant the extensive kingdom of Bulgaria of those times, which extended to both sides of the Danube, and comprised the modern Bulgaria and Wallachia, with part of Moldavia and Bessarabia. The Bulgarians were probably a tribe of Turkish origin, which dwelt on the other side of the Wolga in Casan, where they had their metropolis called *Bolgar*, but afterwards, together with the Huns under the command of Attila, made nearer approaches to the domains of the Greek emperors in Europe, where they erected a new state on the North side of Mount Hæmus.

(28) *Greeland* (or Griekenland, as the people of the northern countries called it) is the domains of the Greek Byzantinian Emperors.

(29) *Wisleland* is the tract of country that lies on the *Wisse*, or Vistula (in modern German *Weissel*) consequently it is principally great and little Poland.

(30) *Datia* therefore, in all probability, is not Moldavia and Transylvania, as has been supposed; for these countries are somewhat more to the southward. But, indeed, the bearings here laid down, may likewise, in such distant regions, very well be supposed to differ a point or two from the real situation.

(31) The *Gottan* are the Goths, who for some time inhabited Dacia. As these were a famous nation in history, King Ælfred was willing, at least, to point out one of their dwelling places.

(32) The *Delamenfan*, or *Delomenfan*, are a people frequently, by the writers of the middle ages, termed *Daleminzen*. This, to shew their erudition, they sometimes wrote *Dalmatians*. The people and race here alluded to, were situated in the environs of *Lammatfch*, or as the Slavonians called it, *Hlommatsfch*, *Glommatsfch*. Consequently it was round about Meissen on both sides of the Elbe, that the Daleminzen resided.

East of *Delamensan* are the *Horitbi* (33), and North of the *Delamensan* are the *Surpe* (34), to the West also are the *Syssele*. To the North of the *Horitbi* is *Maegthaland* (35), and North of *Maegthaland* is *Sermendi* (36) quite to the *Riffn* (37) (or Riphæan) Mountains.

To the South-west of *Dena* is that arm of the ocean that surrounds *Brytannia*, and to the North is that arm of the sea which is *Ost-Sea*, to the East and to the North are the *North Dene*, either on the continent or on the island, to the East are the *Afdrede*; to the South is the mouth of the Elbe, and some part of *Old Saxony* (38). The *North Dene* have, to the northward, that same arm of the sea which is

(33) The *Horitbi*, or *Horiti*, are a Slavonian people, with whom we are unacquainted; though I should be apt to conjecture that the part of Germany in which they resided was somewhere about Gorlitz, or else near Quarlitz, not far from great Glogau; for to the North of the *Delaminzians* lay the *Sorbs*, of Lower Lusatia.

(34) The *Surpes*, or *Surfis* are easily distinguished; in fact, they are the *Sorbian* Slavonians, or the *Sorbi*, *Sirbi*, *Serbi*, and *Serbii* of the old writers of chronicles. The modern Wends of Lusatia call themselves *Sferbs*, or *Sforbs*. As the *Daleminzians* lived on both sides of the Elbe, to the North-east of Moravia, and towards the East were bounded by the *Horitbi* in Upper Lusatia, the *Sorbs* must necessarily be the same with the Wends of Lower Lusatia; and the *Syselians* about *Senfelig* are, according to *Ælfred's* account, only to the westward of the *Sorbs* of Lower Lusatia.

(35) It is not possible that *Maegthaland* should be the *terra fœminarum* of Adam von Bremen, as the reviewer in the *Gottingen Philological Library* asserts it to be. For, 1. if the word *Maegthaland* be supposed to be a translation of *terra fœminarum*, or *Kwenland*, it is evidently a mistake; for this in the Anglo Saxon dialect would be *Wifmannaland*. 2. But supposing it to mean Maidenland, still it is wrong; for in this case it would be written *Mædenland*, and not *Maegthaland*. 3. We are to look for this same *Maegthaland* directly to the northwards of Upper Lusatia and Lower Silesia, and consequently in Great Poland, and not near the *Estland* of Adam von Bremen. Perhaps, indeed, the name of this country is wrong spelt, and it should be *Wartaland*, as it is situated on the banks of the *Warte*. But this is mere conjecture!

(36) (37) *Sermende* is the mutilated and disguised name of *Sarmatia*, a mere salvo and disguise for ignorance, like the *Riffn* Mountains, or Riphæan Mountains of the ancient geographers.

(38) In order to understand the following passages clearly, it will be necessary to be previously acquainted with the point of view from which *Ælfred* makes his survey. Here it seems to be on the *Eider*. To the South-east is the British Channel. To the East and North are the *North-Danes*. To the East are the *Obotrites*, and to the South is the mouth of the Elbe and *Old Saxony*.

called

called *Ost Sea*. To the East is the nation of the *Osti*, and *Afdrede* to the South. (The *Osti* have, to the North of them, that same arm of the sea) so are the *Winedas* and the *Burgendas* (39). And (still more) to the South is *Haefeldan* (40). The *Burgendan* have this same arm of the sea to the West, and the *Sveon* to the North; to the East are the *Sermendo*, to the South the *Surfe* (41). The *Sveons* have to the South the arm of the sea called *Osti*, and to the North, over the wastes, is *Cwenland*, to the North-west are the *Scride-Finnas* (42), and to the west the *Northmen* (43).

Obthere

(39) *Burgendas* is without doubt the Island of *Bornholm*; for from *Burgendabohm* (or *Borgenda Island*) it has been gradually altered to *Borgendabohm*, *Bergen*, and at length to *Bornholm*. Pliny refers the *Burgundiones* to the *Vindili* in the North of Germany. Lib. iv. c. 14.—Mamertinus says in *Genathliaco*, c. 17, that both these nations were nearly exterminated by the Goths. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxviii. cap. 5. informs us, that they had often been at variance with the *Allemanni* on account of the salt springs at Halle on the Sale. After the havock made of them by the Goths, they seem to have betaken themselves to this island for refuge, which therefore took its name from them. They were governed by a king of their own. Farther on, Wulfstan very plainly ascribes the same situation to this country.

(40) Here we must again remind the reader, that it is necessary to know King Ælfred's point of view in order to understand his description. He must now be supposed to stand in the isle of Zealand. In the north is the arm of the sea, by him called the *Ost Sea*; to the east are the *Osti*, who consequently lived in Prussia, as will be shewn still plainer a little farther on. He does not mention Sconen; for this belonging to Denmark, is naturally included in it. There is nothing, therefore, nearer to the eastward than *Esthonia*. To the South of Zealand is the country of the *Obotrites*. Now comes a parenthesis, in which the king says, that this same arm of the sea is likewise to the north of the *Osti*; and then proceeds to mention the Wends and inhabitants of *Bornholm*, as being situated to the south of the Danes, at least of those that resided in Sconen; and a good distance farther to the southward is *Haeveldan*, which in this place is very properly spelled with an H.

(41) Now Ælfred takes a new point of view. *Bornholm* has to the west of it the sea, to the northward the *Sueones*, to the east behind *Esthonia* are the *Sarmatians*, and behind the Wends above-mentioned and the *Havellanders* are *Sorbian Slavonians*.

(42) *The Scridefinnas*. The Geographer of Ravenna, so early as in his time, makes mention, in book iv. chap. 12 and 46, of the *Patria Rerfennorum* and *Sirdifennorum*, which latter he likewise calls *Serdefenni*. Procopius in *Hist. Gotb.* L. ii. p. 261, calls them *Scritifinni*, and places them so far distant as *Tbule*. Jordanus de rebus Geticis, cap. 3. speaks of the *Crefenna*, of whom there are three different nations; and Paulus Diaconus, in his *Hist. Longob.* L. i. cap. 5. terms them

Obthere (44) told his lord (King Ælfred) that he lived to the North of all the Northmen. He quoths that he dwelt in that land to the northward, opposite to the *West Sea*; he said, however, that the land of the Northmen is due North from that sea, and it is all a waste, except in a few places, where the *Finnas* (45) for the most part dwell, for hunting in the winter, and in the summer for fishing in that sea. He said that he was determined to find out once on a time, how far this country extended due North, or, whether any one lived to the North of the wastes before mentioned. With this intent he proceeded due North from this country, leaving all the way the waste land on the starboard, or right hand, and the wide sea to the *Bæcbord*, or left. He was within three days as far North as the whale-

them *Scritowini* and *Scritobini*: Adam von Bremen *Scritefinni*. Consequently King Ælfred's orthography is apparently just. According to Adam von Bremen they lived, *In confinio Sueonum vel Nordmannorum contra Boream*. They therefore bordered both on Sweden and Nordmannaland. They were extremely swift, and indeed more so than the wild animals of the country. *Paul Warnefried* affirms, that they took their name from the word which, in this barbarous language, signified *to spring or leap*; as by means of a curve piece of wood, formed with great art, they leaped forwards with such swiftness, that they overtook animals in their flight. One cannot here help immediately recognizing the large *snow-shoes*, or *schrit-shoes*, in use at present in many of the most northerly regions of Europe. Hence too it was that these people were called *Schreit-Finlanders*: according to the universal testimony of authors, they lived by hunting and fowling.

(43) Here again is another point of view for the determination of the situation of the Sueones, or Swedes. To the south they have the *Off-Sea*, or Baltic; towards the east the Sarmatians in Livonia, and the country since called Esthonia; to the north, beyond the Desert, is *Cwenland*, the modern Finland, and to the north-west are these Finlanders who live entirely by hunting, or the *Scrid finlanders*; and lastly, to the north are the *Northmen*.

(44) *Obthere* was a great man from Norway, and, as some affirm, from *Nummadalen*, or, as is reported by others, from Nordland, which comprises the extremity of Norway towards the North; he undertook a voyage of discovery towards Permien, and another to Sweden; both of which Ælfred here describes from *Obthere's* own mouth. This is extremely accurate and authentic, and entirely in the stile of those times, when so many of the Normans went abroad in search of adventures. Both these voyages, together with that of *Wulfstan*, are the best accounts we have of the middle ages in the north of Europe, and throw a great light on geographical science.

(45) *Obthere* calls the inhabitants of this Desert *Finnas*, and in fact it appears, that the modern Laplanders are really Finlanders; and that the name of Laplanders was not bestowed on them till of late years; the Danes still calling this country Finmark.

whale-hunters ever go, and then proceeded in his course due North, as far as he could sail within another three days, whilst the land lay from thence due East. Whether the sea there lies within the land, he knows not; he only knows, that he waited there for a west wind, or a point to the North, and sailed near that land eastward as far as he could in four days, where he waited for a due north wind, because the land there lies due South. Whether the sea lies within the land he knows not. Upon this he sailed along this country due South as far as he could in five days.

Upon this land there lies a great river, at the mouth of which they lay to, because they could not proceed far further on account of the inhabitants being hostile, and all that country was inhabited on one side of this river, nor had *Ohthere* met before with any land that was inhabited since he came from his own. All the land to his right, during his whole voyage, was a desert, and without inhabitants (except fishermen, fowlers, and hunters), all of whom were Finnas, and he had a wide sea to his left (46). The *Beormas* (47), indeed, had well-peopled their country, for which reason *Ohthere* did not dare enter upon it; on the other hand, the *Terfenna* (48) land was all a desert, except when it was thus inhabited by fishers and fowlers.

(46) The track of *Ohthere's* voyage is traced out in the map, where the figures shew the number of days he was in sailing from place to place.

(47) The *Beormas* are the *Biarmiers* of the northern writers, and the country of *Permia* is still mentioned in the title of the Emperors of Russia. After this expedition of *Ohthere*, many more Normans went to *Biarmia* in search of adventures.

(48) *Terfennaland* is mentioned as being different from the country of the *Scrite Finnas*. We have already seen just above (42) that *Guido of Ravenna* had so early as in his time distinguished them into *Rerifinni* and *Scritifinni*; the latter lived entirely by hunting, for which purpose in winter they made use of *Schrit* or snow-shoes; while the former subsisted on their rein-deer. The word *Rerifinnas* in *Ravenna*, should therefore certainly be written *Renefinnas*; and in the text here *Rhanefinnas*, or perhaps (from the circumstance of these people residing and journeying in sledges). *Fer-finnas* (from the word *Fara*, in German *Fahren*, signifying to go in a carriage of any kind, to travel). For *Ohthere* tells us, in fact, that the *Finnas* had rein-deer, and made use of decoy-deer, in order to catch the wild ones.

The

The *Beormas* told him many particulars about their land, as well as of the other countries near them; but *Ohthere* could not rely upon their accounts, because he had not an opportunity of seeing with his own eyes (49); it seemed, however, to him, that the *Beormas* and the *Finnas*, spoke the same language (50). He went the rather, and shaped his course to each of these countries, on account of the horse-whales, because they have very good bone in their teeth, some of which he brought to the king, and their hides are good for ship-ropes (51). This sort of whale (52) is much less than the other kinds, it being not longer commonly than seven ells; but (*Ohthere* says) that in his own country is the best whale-hunting, because the whales are eight-and-forty ells long, and the largest fifty; that he has killed sixty-six in two days.

Obthere was a very rich man in such goods as are valuable in those countries (namely, in wild deer) and had, at the time he came to the king, six hundred tame deer, none of which he had purchased (53);

(49) This nice strictness of *Ohthere*, not to mention any thing to which he had not been himself an eye-witness, is, as it were, a pledge to us for the authenticity of the rest of his relation, and makes the whole the more valuable and respectable.

(50) It is highly probable, that the *Biarmians* were a branch of the great *Finlandish* stock; for they even had a God *Jemala*, which is the name of the *Finlandish* Deity, and they were rich and in possession of gold and precious stones; they moreover had fixed and settled habitations, and consequently were not wandering herdsmen or hunters, like their neighbours, the *Finlanders*. The identity of their language likewise (according to the testimony of *Ohthere*) with these latter people, is a proof of their *Finlandish* origin.

(51) The hide of the sea-horse is even at this day made use of in *Russia*, particularly for coach-harnesses. They have one defect, and that is, that when they are wet, they give astonishingly, more, indeed, than any leather I ever saw.

(52) King *Ælfred* very properly terms the sea-horses whales; as in fact they belong to that class of animals, which are aquatic, or viviparous, suckle their young, and have a warm blood.

(53) The expression in the original is *unbebóttra*, i. e. never offered for sale, or unbought. There is a peculiar simplicity in this expression, perfectly according with the manners of the *patriarchal* ages. *Abraham's* riches (besides his cattle) consisted likewise in 318 servants, none of which he had bought, but who were all born in his own house; in like manner, *Ohthere*, though in a much poorer country, was in possession of 600 deer, all of which he had brought up himself, having neither bought nor caught any of them.

besides

besides this, he had six decoy rein-deer (54), which are very valuable amongst the *Finnas*, because they catch their wild ones with them.

Ohthere himself was one of the most considerable men in those parts, and yet he had not more than twenty horned cattle, twenty sheep, and twenty swine; and what little he plowed was with horses. The rents in this country consist chiefly of what is paid by the *Finnas* (55), in deer-skins, feathers, whale-bone, and ship-ropes, made of whales hides, or those of seals. Every one pays according to his substance; the wealthiest pay the skins of fifteen martens, five rein-deer, one bear's-skin, ten hampers (56) full of feathers, a cloak (57) of bear's or otter's-skin, two ship-ropes (each sixty ells long), one made of whale's and the other of seal's-skin.

Ohthere moreover said, that *Northmanna-land* was very long and narrow, and that all of the country which is fit either for pasture (58) or plowing is on the sea coast, which, however, is in some parts very rocky; to the eastward are wild moors (59) parallel to the cultivated

(54) *Decoy* rein-deer must doubtless be highly valued among a people that lived by hunting, and on the flesh and produce of these animals. In India they have elephants of this kind, which have been trained up to catch the wild ones. [See a circumstantial account of this in *The Life and Adventures of John Christopher Wolf, with a Description of Ceylon*, lately published.] In the same manner, likewise, almost every butcher in London has a weather, which goes regularly to meet the sheep just brought home from the market, and insidiously leads them into a slaughter-house under ground; whither having, by frequently leaping in and out, enticed the whole flock, he at last leaps out once for all, and leaves his new acquaintance to the murderous knife of the butcher.

(55) The term made use of in the original for this tribute is *Gafol*; whence the French word *Gabelle*. But this shews, that so early as towards the end of the 9th century, the Normans had compelled the Finlanders to pay them tribute.

(56) In the original, *ambra*. *Langebeck* has a long note on this word, which he explains by the *ampbora* of the Latins. Mr. *Barrington* translated it *busbels*; but, in my opinion, both of them are mistaken; as I rather suppose it to be the same with the modern English word *Hamper*, in old English, *Hanaper*, which is derived from *band-bear*.

(57) *Kyrtel* in the original. In German, *kuettel*, or cloak.

(58) Orig. *Ettan*. (59) *Mora*, moor, a black turfy soil. It is well known, that in Lapland and Finland there is at present a great number of these uncultivated moors; and the *Flora Lapponica* itself gives abundant proof of this circumstance.

land. The Finnas inhabit these moors, and the cultivated land is broadest to the eastward (60), and grows narrower to the northward. To the East it is sixty miles broad, in some places broader; about the middle it is perhaps thirty miles broad, or somewhat more: to the northward (where it is narrowest) it may be only three miles (from the sea) to the moors, which are in some parts so wide, that a man could scarcely pass over them in a fortnight, and in other parts, perhaps, in six days.

Opposite to this land, to the South, is *Sweoland* (61), on the other side of the moors; (quite to that land northwards,) and opposite to that again to the North, is *Cwenaland*. The *Cwenas* sometimes make incursions against the Northmen over their moors, and sometimes the Northmen on them; there are very large fresh meres (62) amongst the moors, and the *Cwenas* carry their ships (63) over land into the meres, whence they make depredations on the Northmen; their ships are small, and very light.

Ohthere said also, that the shire (64) which he inhabited is called *Halgoland*, and that no one dwelt to the North of him; there is

(60) *To the Eastward*; so in fact it stands in the original: but it is very plain that it should be *to the South*; and particularly if one has the map of Norway before one, one sees at a glance, from the form of the country, that no other word can be used here than *South*: besides this, it is just afterwards opposed to *northwards*; and consequently there can be no doubt but that it is a mistake of the copyist.

(61) This passage is very obscure. Thus much however is evident, viz. that between Ohthere's dwelling-place in *Halgoland* and *Sweoland*, which lay over against it in the south, there were large, extensive moors; and farther, that opposite the most northerly part of *Sweoland*, was *Cwenaland*, i. e. Finland. These *Cwenas*, or Finlanders, did not join immediately to Northmannaland; but the moors of the desert tract were interposed between these two countries.

(62) A lake, or large collection of fresh water, is still called *Mere* in the north of England; and the same word is here used in the same sense by Ælfred.

(63) These portable ships, which were so small and light, must doubtless have been mere boats.

(64) In the original, *Scir*.

likewise a part of this southern land which is called *Sciringes-beal* (65), which no one could reach in a month, if he lay to at night, though he

(65) The name of this place has given a great deal of trouble to former commentators on Ælfred, viz. Sir John Spelman, Bussæus, Somner, John Phil. Murray, and Langebeck, who have all chosen spots totally different to place *Sciringes beal* in. Spelman and others look for this place near Dantzig, where, in their opinion, the *Scyres* formerly resided. But first, the spot where the *Scyres* lived, is by no means determined; and next, it is evident that Ohthere went continually along the coast from Halgoland to *Sciringes-beal*, and that this latter was to the left of him during the whole passage thither. The late Mr. Murray places it at *Stamor*; but I cannot think this to have been five days voyage from Hæthum, in Jutland, as Ohthere says it was. Langebeck is for carrying it to *Kongabelle*, on the Gautelf, near Marstrand; and asserts, that the name of this place is written wrong, and that for *Sciringes-beal* we should read *Cyninges-beal*. If this word occurred indeed but once, I would allow Langebeck to be in the right; but, in fact, we meet with it five times in the space of a few lines; and each time it is written, without the least variation, *Sciringes-beal*; on which account it does not appear to me at all probable, that it should be spelt in any other manner. 2dly, The voyage from Halgoland to *Kongabelle* is not sufficiently extensive to take up a month to accomplish it. 3dly, *Kongabelle* is too near Jutland, to require five days for making the trip, as Ohthere says it does. Having demonstrated the insufficiency of these conjectures, it is now incumbent on us, in our turn, to point out where *Sciringes-beal* actually is situated. Paul Warenfried, in his *Hist. Longobard*, lib. i. cap. 7 and 10, makes mention of a district, called *Scorunga*, in which the *Winili*, or *Lombards*, resided for some time, ere they removed to *Mauringa*, and from thence still further on to *Gotland*, *Anthabet*, *Bethab*, and *Purgundaib*. Now this *Scorunga* seems to have been the district in which the post of *Sciringes-beal* was. This *Scorunga* was not far from *Gotland*; consequently it was somewhere in Sweden. Add to this, that Ohthere, having expressly described Sueoland as being to the southward of the place of his habitation, immediately afterwards says, "There is a port in this southern land which is called *Sciringes-beal*." By this he seems to indicate very plainly, that this place is no where to be sought for but in Sweden. But all this will appear still more evident, if we take the pains to follow the track of his voyage. First, he has Ireland, i. e. Scotland, to the right of him; as likewise the islands which lie between Scotland and Halgoland, viz. the Shetland and Orkney Islands; but the continent is constantly to the left of him, quite till he comes to *Sciringes-beal*. But farther, a large bay stretches to the northward, deep in that country, along the coast of which he kept continually sailing; and this bay commences quite to the southward of *Sciringes-beal*. It is so broad that a man cannot see across it, and *Gotland* lies directly opposite to it. But the sea, which extended from Zealand to this spot, goes many hundred miles farther up in the country (that is to say, to the eastward). From *Sciringes-beal* Ohthere could go in five days to *Hæthum*, which lies between the Wends, Saxons, and Angles. Now, by means of this voyage, we are enabled to determine with still greater exactness the situation of the place we are in search of. In order to get to *Hæthum* from *Sciringes-beal*, he left *Gotland* to the right, and soon afterwards *Zealand* likewise, together with the other islands, which had been the habitations of the Angles, be-

he had every day a fair wind ; during this voyage he must sail near the land, on his right hand would be Iraland (66), and then the islands which are between Iraland and this land. For this country is to *Sciringes-beal*, all the way on the left. As you proceed northward, a great sea to the southward of *Sciringes-beal*, runs up into this land ; and is so wide, that no one can see across it. Gotland (68) is opposite on the other side, and afterwards the sea of *Sillende* lies many miles up in that country. *Ohthere* further says, that he sailed in five days from *Sciringes-beal*, to that port which men call *Haethum* (70), which is between the *Winedum*, *Seaxun*, and *Anglen*, and makes part of *Dene*.

When

fore they landed in England ; while those which belonged to Denmark were to the left of him for the space of two days. *Sciringes-beal* consequently is in Sweden ; at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, which runs up into the land northwards ; just on that spot, where the Baltic passing by Zealand, spreads out into a wide gulf extending several hundred miles into the land : if one goes to Jutland from *Sciringes-beal*, one must of necessity pass by Gotland. Now just here it is that I find the *Svia-Sciaren*, or Swedish *Skiers* (a cluster of little islands surrounded by rocks). *Heal*, in the northern languages, signifies a port, as in such places a ship may be kept in safety. *Sciringes-beal* therefore was “ the harbour in the *Skiers*,” and was probably at the entrance of the Gulf of Bothnia, and consequently where Stockholm now is ; and the tract of land before which the *Skiers* lay towards the sea, was the *Scorunga* of Paul Warnefried.

(66) *Iraland*, says Ælfred ; yet he means that country which we now call Scotland ; and a little farther on he mentions our modern Ireland in these terms : *Ighernia, that we Scotland betad*. This shews therefore, that the people removed from the one country to the other, and peopled them alternately.

(67) As I have already remarked above, that *Ohthere* here means the land along which he had hitherto been sailing : this word is of great service towards determining the situation of *Sciringes-beal*, and besides shews the situation of the two bays which here begin to separate from each other.

(68) *Gotland* is without doubt the island of Gotland, as may be seen still more plainly in Wulfstan's Voyage to *Truso*. It cannot therefore mean Jutland, as Langebeck affirms it does.

(69) Ælfred calls the sea which reaches from Zealand to Gotland the *Sillende Sea*, and after having made mention of that arm of it which runs out to the northward deep into that land, along the coast of which he had hitherto sailed, farther says, this sea extends yet many hundred miles farther in the same direction in which he had sailed from Zealand to it, viz. from west to east.

(70) This port of *Haethum* has given Ælfred's Commentators a great deal of trouble. However, they are all agreed in affirming, the place that is here meant, to be *Sleswic*, as this latter is called *Haitbaky* by the Anglo-Saxon Ethelwerd. A Norwegian poet gives it the name of *Heythabae*,

When Ohthere failed to this place from *Sciringes-beal*, Denmark was on his left, and on the right was a wide sea for three days, as were also two days before he came to *Hæthum*, *Gotland*, *Sillende*, and many islands (these lands were inhabited by the Angles before they came hither); and for two days the islands which belong to *Dene* were on the left.

Wulfstan (73) said, that he went from *Hæthum* to *Truso* (74) in
seven

thabæ, and others write it *Heydabæ*, and by Adam of Bremen, it is called *Heidaba*; this in their opinion is *Hæthum*: yet it appears to me that the difference between *Heithaby* and *Hæthum* is not so very inconsiderable; neither indeed is it possible for this place to be *Sleswic*, as the situation of it does not accord with that of the spot described by Ohthere and *Wulfstan*. In fact, if *Sleswic* be *Hæthum*, I must confess, that I cannot in the least comprehend the track of the voyage of either of these ancient navigators. Ohthere tells us, that in sailing from *Sciringes-beal* to *Hæthum*, he had Denmark to the left, and the open sea for the space of three days to the right; but that for two days before he reached *Hæthum*, he had *Gotland* and *Zealand* to the right, and the islands which belonged to the Danes, to the left. But had he been going to *Sleswic*, he would have found all the Danish islands lie to the right hand of him, and not one, besides *Femern*, to the left. Now, I beg leave to enquire, how can this situation of *Sleswic* be made to correspond with *Hæthum*? The very same may be said with respect to *Wulfstan's* Voyage; though indeed this situation attributed to *Sleswic* is rather more applicable to *Hæthum*. But now I will take the liberty of supposing, that, as in the district of *Aarhuus* there is an extensive tract of land called *Albeide* (for it is in fact a heath); the present town of *Aarhuus* (in English *oar-house*) is new, and in the 9th century lay higher up towards *Al-beide*, or *Al-beath*; and consequently the harbour may at that time have had the name of *Al-hæthum*, or *Hæthum*. So that if Ohthere set out from *Stockholm*, *Gothland* was to the right of him, and so was *Zealand*; and he sailed between *Zealand* and *Funen*, in which case all the Danish islands were to the left hand of him, and he had the *Schager Rack* and the *Cattagat*, a wide sea, to the right. Farther, when *Wulfstan* went from *Aarhuus*, (or *Hæthum*), to *Truso*, he kept *Weonothland* (not *Winodland*) i. e. *Funen* (or *Fionia*) to his right hand; and to the left were *Langeland*, *Laeland*, *Falster*, and *Sconeg*, as well as *Bornholm*, *Bleking*, *Mœbre*, *Oeland*, and *Gotland*. But *Wendenland* remained to the right hand of him, quite to the mouth of the *Vistula*.

(72) King *Ælfred* says here, in express terms, that the *Engles*, before they came to England, had resided on the Danish islands. Consequently it is impossible that *Engern* on the *Weser*, which was of a posterior date, should have been the pristine country of the Angles.

(73) The strongest possible proof that *Sleswic* was not *Hæthum*, arises from the consideration that, were that the case, the Danish islands must, with respect to those that were going to *Hæthum*, have lain to the right hand; whereas Ohthere says, they lay to the left.

(73) *Wulfstan* appears to have been a Dane, who, perhaps, had become acquainted with Ohthere in the course of his expedition, and had gone with him to England.

(74) There is at this time a lake between *Elbing* and *Prussian Holland* called *Truso*, or *Drausen*,
from

seven days and nights (the ship being under sail all the time) that *Weonothland* (75) was on his right, but *Langaland*, *Laeland*, *Falster*, and *Sconeg*, on his left, all of which belong to *Denemearcan* (76). We had also *Burgendaland* on our left, which hath a king of its own. After having left *Burgendaland*, the islands of *Becinga-eg*, *Meore*, *Eowland*, and *Gotland*, were on our left, which country belongs to *Sueon* (77); and *Weonodland* (78) was all the way on our right, to the mouth of the *Wisse* (79). This river is a very large one, and near it lies *Witland* (80) and *Weonodland*, the former of which belongs to *Esfum*, and the *Wisse* does not run through *Weonodland*, but through *Esfmere* (81), which lake is fifteen miles broad. Then runs the
Ilfing

from which, probably, the town he mentioned, which stood on the banks of the *Frisch Haf*, took its name.

(75) We have before in two different places in the notes remarked the difference between *Weonothland* and *Winodland*, the first of which is in all probability *Fuehnen* (Funen) or *Fionia*, which place is still called *Fyen*.

(76) That *Weonothland* is not *Wendenland*, appears from the observation of *Wulfstan*, that all these countries belong to Denmark, which could not be said of *Winodland*.

(77) The countries here mentioned, which all belong to *Sueon*, or Sweden, have need of a few remarks by way of elucidation. By *Becinga-eg* is certainly meant *Blekingen*, or *Bleking*; and the *I* must have been left out in the hurry of transcribing: this *Bleking*, conformably to the custom of many writers in those times, he calls an island. *Meore* is without dispute, the Upper and Lower *Moesbre* in *Smoland*, *Eowland* is *Oeland*, and *Gotland* is doubtless the Island of *Gotland*, and not *Jutland*, as *Langebeck* asserts it to be in a note to a passage where it occurs above; for all these countries were provinces of Sweden.

(78) *Weonodland*, or *Winodland*, extends to the mouth of the *Vistula*; and is, evidently, a peculiar and independent country, and different from the *Weonothland* of the Danes.

(79) *Wisse* is the Slavonian orthography, or rather *Wisla*. The Germans, on the other hand, call this river the *Weichsel*; the Prussians, *Weissel*; by other nations it is called the *Vistula*.

(80) *Witland* is a tract in *Samland* in Prussia, which was celebrated for the amber it produced; and at the time of the crusades it was called by the same name, as is manifest from two different ancient records. The word itself is a translation of *Baltikka*, i. e. the White-land.

(81) The *Esfmere* is (as we may perceive from the termination of the word) a lake of fresh water, into which the *Elbe* and *Vistula* empty themselves. It is at present called the *Frisch Haf*, or fresh-water sea. *Haf* in the Dutch and Swedish languages signify *sea*. In some places it is above

three

Ilſing (82) from the eastward, into Estmere; on the bank of which stands *Truſo*, and the *Ilſing* flows from Eastland into the Estmere from the East; and the *Wille* from Weonodland from the South; the *Ilſing* having joined the *Wille* takes its name, and runs to the West of Estmere, and northward into the sea; when it is called the *Wille's* mouth (83). Eastland is a large tract of country, and there are in it many towns, and in every town is a king (84); there is also a great quantity of honey and fish, and the king, and richest men drink mare's milk (85), whilst the poor and the slaves use mead (86).

They

three German miles broad; and this assertion of *Ælfred's*, who reckons by English miles, is perfectly accurate and just.

(82) *Ilſing* is indisputably the name of the river *Elbing*, which flows from Lake *Draußen* or *Truſo*, (vid. 74.) and by one of its arms joins with that arm of the *Vistula* called *Neugat*, or *Nogat*, and both thus united, empty themselves into the *Haf*, while the other arm runs into the *Haf* by itself.

(83) Every thing that *Ælfred* here mentions concerning the situation of that part of the world, incontestibly shews, that he had his intelligence immediately from the mouth of one who was perfectly well acquainted with the place. The *Ilſing* comes out at *Eſthonia*, yet not from the East, as *Ælfred* says it does, but from the South. Excepting, indeed, that he means that arm of the *Elbing* which runs into the *Vistula* or *Nogat*. But the *Vistula* comes out of *Wendenland* from the South; and, the two rivers having disembogued themselves into the *Haf*, this latter stretches, no doubt, from West to North, that is in a North-east direction, and at *Pillau* goes into the sea. It is possible, that this, as well as the western arm, may have formerly born the name of *Wiſſemund*, or the mouth of the *Vistula*.

(84) This account of the state of *Prussia* at that time, while under the *Eſthonians*, who had already built many cities there, each of which had a chief (or as he terms it, a king,) is perfectly consonant to the condition in which it was found by the adventurers in the crusades many centuries afterwards.

(85) This piece of intelligence, that the richest persons of the country were content with mare's milk, at the same time that the poorer sort of the slaves drank mead, is extremely singular. If, however, we consider, that this mare's milk was not barely milk, but milk which had undergone a kind of fermentation, and was transmuted into a species of brandy, such as the inhabitants of the desert plains of *Asia Media* drink in great quantities, calling it *Kumys*, while they distinguish their double-distilled brandy by the name of *Arrack*; if, I say, we take this into consideration, we shall find it easier to conceive why the principal people of the land only had the prerogative to get drunk with brandy, while their subjects drank nothing but mead. For we know that it has been, and is still, the constant practice with all rude uncultivated nations, to

They have many contests amongst themselves, and the people of *Estum* brew no ale (87), as they have mead in profusion.

There is also a particular custom amongst this nation, that when any one dies, the corpse continues unburnt with the relations and friends (88) for a month or two, and the bodies of kings and nobles lie longer (according to their respective wealth) sometimes for half a year, before the corpse is thus destroyed; and it continues above ground in the house, during which time drinking and sports last, till the day on which the body is consumed. Then, when it is carried to the funeral pile, the substance of the deceased (which remains after their drinking-bouts and sports) is divided into five or six heaps (sometimes into more) according to what he happens to be worth.

leave to their superiors the exclusive privilege of intoxicating themselves whenever they please. It is only the men of rank among the Turks, Persians, and Malays, that make use of opium; it is only the people of quality among the Otaheiteans who intoxicate themselves with the juice of the root of the *Awa*, a species of pepper; and it is only the principal Tshuktschis that can get drunk with the infusion of the inebriating fungus, purchased from the Russians. *Adam of Bremen* (paragr. 138.) says, that the ancient Prussians ate horse-flesh, and drank the milk of their mares to intoxication; and *Peter of Duisburg* (paragr. 80.) relates of these people, that at their feasts, they drank water, mead, and mare's milk.

(86) *Mead*, even so early as in these times, had the name of *Medo* in Anglo-Saxon; in the Lithuanian tongue it is called *Middus*; in Polish, *Miod*; in Russian, *Med*; in German, *Merh*. Hence it appears probable to me, that mead is a beverage of great antiquity, as the name by which it is known is exactly the same in languages of so different an origin. With these it is perhaps worth while to compare the Greek verb *μεθύω*, *I intoxicate*. I must once more repeat the general remark I made before, viz. that Wulfstan must have been very well acquainted with the country. Abounding, as it did, in forests of lime-trees and in lakes, Prussia had a profusion of the finest honey and fish; and the towns, horses, cloaths, weapons, drinking-bouts, and games of its inhabitants evince, that they were not ignorant of agriculture, and that they were in a tolerably flourishing state, and had arrived at no contemptible degree of cultivation.

(87) King Ælfred observes, that these drinking-bouts occasioned many frays. He also gives a reason, why the Esthonians brewed no ale, which is, that they had such a vast abundance of honey, that it was easier for them to make mead than to brew beer.

(88) That the ancient Prussians burned their dead and buried them together with their horses, weapons, cloaths, and valuable possessions, appears from a treaty concluded through the mediation of the Archdeacon of Liege, in quality of the Pope's Legate, between the German Knights and the newly-converted Prussians, wherein the Prussians expressly promise never in future to burn their dead, nor bury them with their horses, arms, cloaths, and valuables.

There heaps are disposed at a mile's distance from each other, the largest heap at the greatest distance from the town, and so gradually the smaller at lesser intervals, till all the wealth is divided, so that the least heap shall be nearest the town where the corpse lies.

Then all those are to be summoned who have the fleetest horses in that country, within the distance of five or six miles from these heaps, and they all strive for the substance of the deceased; he who hath the swiftest horse obtains the most distant and largest heap, and so the others, in proportion, till the whole is seized upon. He procures, however, the least, who takes that which is nearest the town; and then every one rides away with his share, and keeps the whole of it; on account of this custom, fleet horses are extremely dear. When the wealth of the deceased hath been thus exhausted, then they carry the corpse from the house to burn it, together with the dead man's weapons and cloaths; and generally they spend the whole wealth of the deceased, by the body's continuing so long in the house before it is buried; and by what is laid in heaps on the road; and is taken away by the strangers (89).

It is also a custom with the *Estum*, that the bodies of all the inhabitants shall be burned; and if any one can find a single bone unconsumed, it is a cause of anger. These people also have the means of producing very severe cold, by which the dead body continues so long above ground without putrefying; and if any one sets a vessel full of ale or water, they contrive that the liquors shall be frozen, be it summer or winter.

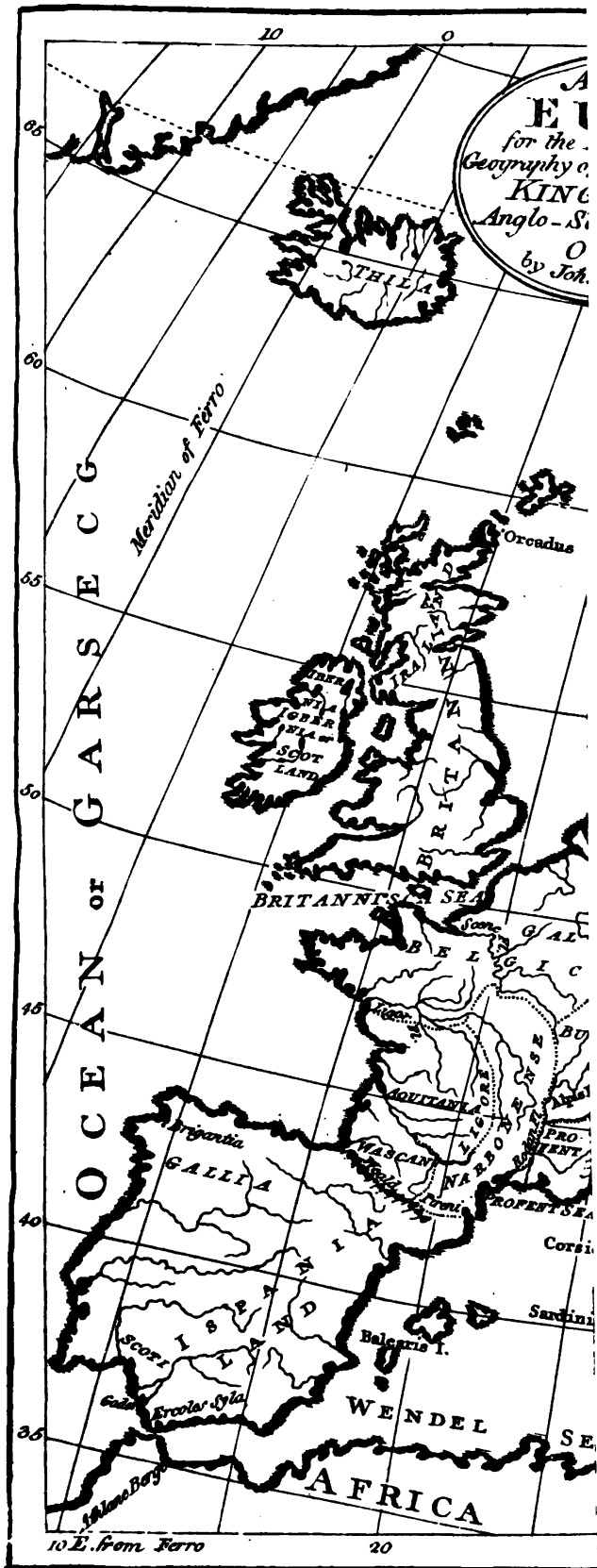
The part of King Ælfred's Geography, of which we have here given a translation as literal as could be done consistently with the different genius of both languages, without dispute constitutes, with relation to the state of the North of Europe in the 9th century, a record of the

(89) It is easy to perceive, that this power, so much admired by King Ælfred, of producing cold either in summer or in winter, by which the putrefaction of dead bodies was prevented, and beer and water were frozen, was the effect of a good ice-cellar, and this every Prussian of any consequence had in, or else hard by his house.

utmost importance. As Ælfred in his youth had been in Rome, whither, even at that early period, zeal for the Christian religion carried people from every country, he might in all probability have collected in that city the materials for his Geography, and his other historical acquisitions, which in those times of deplorable ignorance and darkness, give him a very high rank among writers. This fragment likewise is a confirmation of what we have before advanced, viz. that the voyages and predatory expeditions of the northern pirates have very much contributed to the illustration of Geography and of the History of Nations.

The art of navigation too was in those days held in great esteem by the people of the North. Amongst them it was even considered as peculiarly praise-worthy, to understand the structure of a ship, and the best method of constructing it so as to be strong and firm, and at the same time a quick sailer; and as *smith* was an appellation peculiarly appropriated to every one that wrought in metals, all artizans and handicraftsmen went likewise under the same general denomination; and accordingly a man of the name of *Torsten*, was, on account of his great skill in ship-building, called the *skip-smith*. The direction of a ship by means of oars, and dexterity and perseverance in rowing, were in those days considered in so advantageous a light, that King *Harold Hardrade*, and Earl *Rognwald*, lord of the Orkneys, prided themselves greatly on their superior skill in handling the oar. Rowing, however, was not the only method they had in those ages of getting a vessel forward in its course. They had likewise sails withal; and their manner of using them makes them deservedly celebrated. Most of the people of antiquity, who were famous for navigation, made use of sails but seldom, and that only when the wind blew directly at their backs, so that they could sail with a full wind, or *right before the wind*. If the wind blew hard, and somewhat sideways, they were obliged to run immediately into a harbour, which indeed in a sea like the Mediterranean, is very easily done. But the numerous and extensive

voyages.



voyages of the Normans on the Great Ocean, particularly to England, the Orkneys, Ireland, Gaul, and even into the Mediterranean, sufficiently indicate, that they knew how to use their sails, even when they had only a side-wind. It does not appear, however, that this great art of setting the sails of a ship according to the wind was generally known in those times; as, of such as did possess it it was affirmed, that as soon as their vessels had their lading, they had only to set their sails, and set off directly, without troubling themselves in the least from what quarter the wind blew. This property was attributed to the ship called the *Drache Ufanaut*, and to Freyer's ship the *Skydblader*, in the *Edda*, and in *Torsten's Vikings Saga*. It was supposed, that this was effected by sorcery; though, in fact, it proceeded from nothing more than a certain degree of skill and dexterity in setting and shifting the sails, founded on experience and mechanical science. This way of sailing with the wind half, or almost quite contrary, or, as it is called by the mariners, *near the wind*, is in reality one of the greatest and most ingenious inventions made by man. As the mariner's compass has 32 points from which the wind may blow, and which have been distinguished by peculiar names; and from which soever of these the wind blows it is in the power of the mariner to avail himself of one and the same wind, to carry him to twenty different points or quarters of the globe; so that, the six points excepted which are on each side of the line of direction in which the wind blows, he is able to sail with this wind on any other course.

This

* The compass is a magnetic piece of steel, which is moveable in a circular direction, on the point of a very sharp needle, within a conical cap: to this piece of steel, in order to make it still more useful, is affixed a circular pasteboard, on which are delineated the 32 different winds or points of the compass. Now the magnetic needle, constantly pointing to the North Pole, the compass, fastened to it, retains its position, notwithstanding the alterations that may be made in the ship's course; and as the box, containing the compass, is placed directly before the man at the helm, who

This important science, with respect to ordering the sails, must either not have been very general, at least not known in Othier's time; for we read in his voyage to *Biarmien*, that he was obliged to lay so long at two different places expressly for the sake of waiting for a better wind; and he names in express terms the wind, which would serve him for sailing with full sails. On the other hand, the opinion that was then harboured concerning magical ships seems to prove the skill of their pilots, or conductors, in relation to managing the sails, so as to sail likewise near the wind.

The construction too of the northern vessels was totally different from that which was followed by the Greeks and Romans in theirs. The ships of the northern nations were built of the stoutest oak that could be procured, and were made with high forecastles and poops; those of the Mediterranean, on the contrary, were low and flat, and were chiefly impelled by means of oars; the whole of their structure too, seemed much slighter than that of the vessels used by the northern nations. The ships of the northern people, appointed for long expeditions, were likewise covered at the top; while those used in the Mediterranean were covered at top in a few particular cases only. For which reason the Roman writers, whenever there were any covered ships in a fleet, never fail to inform us of this circumstance, and to

stands with his face turned towards the prow of the ship, he has it in his power to see, with the greatest precision, towards which point of the compass the course of the ship is directed. Now every circle, and in fact the compass is nothing else, being divided by mathematicians into 360 degrees, $11\frac{1}{4}$ such degrees are comprised in one point of the compass; and as according to the present method of sailing *near the wind* (i. e. of sailing as near to the point, whence the wind blows, as possible) we are six points from the wind; it follows, that at $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from the wind, we are able, as it were, to sail against it, and that on either side of the point whence the wind blows. Now twice $67\frac{1}{2}$ is 135, therefore we are able to sail to 225 degrees of the horizon with each wind. It is true indeed, that as in sailing *near the wind*, the wind comes into contact with the sails and the vessel sideways only, and in an oblique direction, the latter by this means always loses somewhat in her course in consequence of this direction; but the exact amount of this can only be determined by actual observation on board the ship.

discriminate

discriminate with great care the number of these from that of the open vessels.

All the advantages here enumerated of the mode of navigation in use among the northern nations, joined to constant practice, gave these restless people a great aptitude to, as well as inclination for, a seafaring life. The immense riches, which most of their adventurers had acquired both by stratagem and violence in their piratical expeditions; the fame attendant on the performance of valorous actions at sea; their religion itself, in the very texture of which was interwoven a love of intrepidity and personal courage; and, lastly, the expectation of a delightful reward in a future life for such as died in battle, who with *Othiné* in *Valhalla*, drank mead and beer, poured out to them by the beautiful *Valkyriurs*, in horns and the skulls of their conquered enemies, and feasted on the roasted flesh of the wild boar *Scrimner*; all these circumstances principally contributed to spirit up the northern nations to undertake the most dangerous naval expeditions; consequently they sallied out, animated by the most daring confidence, wherever they had the least hopes of acquiring glory. The greatest dangers, nay, death itself, far from deterring, on the contrary, rather seemed to excite them to accomplish their desperate undertakings. For which reason these people were sometimes seen to attempt things, the very idea of which would have terrified others. As they were continually employed in navigation, it naturally followed, that many of their ships were cast away on entirely foreign coasts, coasts which they had never seen before, and of which neither they nor their cotemporaries had ever heard the least mention made.

Thus the first discovery of Iceland was, as we have seen above at page 50, to be attributed to a mere accident of this kind. But the population of this island was effected by the continual migrations of the people thither from the neighbouring countries. The *Shetland* Islands, which by the people of the North were constantly called
the

the *Hialtaland* Islands) together with the *Orkneys*, as likewise the *Soderoe* or Western Islands, and the *Faroar* or Ferro Islands, were subjugated by *Harold*, King of Norway, in consequence of his finding that the peculiar turn of that age for piratical expeditions exhausted his kingdom of his subjects, who used to settle on these islands in order to carry on their depredations. Upon this he gave *Rognwald Jarl* (or Earl) of *Moere* and *Raundel*, the *Orkneys* and *Hialtaland* to him and his heirs for ever, as an Earldom (*Jarlrik*) without tribute: and the latter made a grant of it as a mesne fief to his brother *Sigurd*. But he dying soon, and his son *Guthorm* not living long after him, the Earldom devolved to *Rognwald's* son *Hallad*, who became so odious to his father on account of the drowfiness of his nature, that he bequeathed the Earldom of the *Orkneys* to his bastard son *Eynar*, from whose posterity, likewise, the latter Earls of the *Orkneys* are actually descended.

It was about this time that the enterprizes of certain Normans in Russia took place. *Ofkold* and *Dir* went with a party of their followers along the *Dnieper* down as far as *Kiow*, where, at this time, the *Chazars*, a Turkish race, maintained the sovereign sway over the Slavonian inhabitants. Here they now laid the foundations of a new state, which, however, was afterwards united with that of Novgorod.

One of the numerous sons of *Rognwald*, Earl of the *Orkneys*, *Hrolf* by name, having in defiance of King *Harold's* prohibition, harassed the coasts of Norway by frequent depredations and ravages, had been consequently banished from Norway. Upon this he repaired to the *Soderoe*, where there resided a great number of malcontents and fugitives, and having ingratiated himself with them, conducted them, A. D. 876, along the coasts of England and Germany, to the mouth of the *Seine*. Here he found the throne filled by the *Carlovinian* race, but the country at the same time so much weakened by the imbecillity and

and inactivity of its rulers, as well as by its internal dissensions, that it was by no means difficult for him to ravage and lay waste a great part of it in the most cruel and barbarous manner. But he soon, together with his train, discovered that it would answer much better to them to seize on a considerable part of it for themselves, and make it their constant residence. Finally, after a great many battles, truces, treaties of peace, and infringements of these treaties, they were at length acknowledged as the rightful owners of a large tract of this country; and *Hrolf*, or (as the French called him subsequent to his being baptized) *Robert*, in 912 received the Duchy of *Normandy* from the hands of King Charles, by way of fief, and espoused Charles's daughter, *Gisla*. By his first wife he had a son called William, who succeeded him in the throne, and from whom the Norman kings of England descended, as did the kings of Sicily and Naples of the Norman race from a near relation of his, the conqueror *Tancred*.

The Normans continued to establish themselves in Ireland, and to gain ground in the North of England and of Scotland, perpetually harassing all these countries by their depredations. But in the year 982 or 983, on occasion of the banishment of an offender, a new country was discovered. Among other petty sovereigns, King Harold had brought one of the name of *Thorror* under subjection. His great uncle *Thorwald* had lived at the court of Earl *Hayne*, and had been obliged to fly on account of a murder he had committed; and accordingly went to Iceland, where he settled a considerable tract of country with a new colony. His son *Eric Raude*, or *Redbeard*, having been persecuted by *Eyolf Saur*, a powerful neighbour of his, on account of *Raude*'s having killed some of the latter's servants, his revengeful spirit at last prompted him to kill *Eyolf* likewise. This, and other misdemeanors he had been guilty of, obliged him likewise to quit his country. He knew, that a man of the name *Gunbiorn* had discovered the banks called *Gunbiorn's Schieren* on the western side of Iceland, but likewise still more to the westward a country of yet greater

greater extent. Being condemned to banishment for the space of three years, he determined upon making a voyage of discovery to this country. Soon after he had set sail, he saw the point of land called *Herjolfs Ness*, and after sailing a little longer to the South-west, entered a large inlet, which he called *Eric's Sound*, and passed the winter on a pleasant island in the vicinity of it. The following year he explored the continent, and the third year returned to Iceland, where, with the view that a considerable number of people might be induced by his representation of matters, to resolve upon going to this newly-discovered country, to which he gave the name of Greenland, he bestowed the most lavish praises on its rich meadows, its wood, and its fisheries. Accordingly, there set out for this place 25 vessels, laden with people of both sexes, household furniture, and cattle for breeding, of which vessels 14 only arrived safe. These first colonists were soon followed by more, as well from Norway as Iceland; and in the space of a few years their number encreased so much, that they occupied not only the eastern, but likewise the western part of Greenland; and, indeed, they were so numerous, that it was supposed there were almost enough of them to form the third part of a Danish Bishop's diocese.

This is the common account of the first settling of Greenland, and it rests on the credit of the Northern Historian and Icelandic Judge, *Snorro Sturleson*, who wrote this account in the year 1215. But others assert, that Greenland was known long before this time, and, for confirmation of what they advance, appeal directly to a Bull of Pope Gregory IV. and to the Letters Patent of the Emperor Lewis the Pious, the latter of which is dated in the year 834, but the former in 835. In this Patent, as well as in the Bull, permission is granted to the Archbishop Ansgarius, to convert the Sueones, Danes, and Slavonians; and it is added, the *Norwæbers*, the *Farriers*, the *Greenlanders*, the *Halvingalanders*, the *Icelanders*, and the *Scridevinds*. Now this necessarily

necessarily implies, that all the countries here mentioned must have been already known previous to the years 834 and 835; and what is yet more, that Iceland was at that period known by the name it yet bears, though it is universally allowed, that it was at first called *Snow-land* by Nadodd, its discoverer. (Vide pag. 50). Here, then, there appears an evident contradiction. We see very plainly, however, that, supposing both the Charter and Bull to be genuine, the words *Gronlandon* and *Islandon* should in all probability be read differently, and perhaps *Quenlandon* and *Hitlandon*. By the former is meant *Finland*; and *Hitland*, or *Hialtaland*, is the name of the Shetland Islands. By adopting this alteration the whole difficulty is unravelled; but it may likewise, not without reason, be doubted, whether possibly all the names of nations inserted after the "Sueones, Danes, and Sclavonians," have not been interpolated at a later period: as St. Rembert, the immediate successor of Ansgarius, and who wrote his life, mentions only the names of the Sueones, Danes, and Sclavonians, whom Aufgarius was allowed to convert; *together with other nations situated in the North* *. It is therefore not improbable, that some conceited copyist, at a later period, was desirous of making particular mention of the people, who might appear to him to be comprised under the description of *other nations situate in the North*, and therefore very sagaciously adds, the *Norwæbers, Farriers, Greenlanders, Helsingalanders, Icelanders, and Scridevinders*; without once reflecting, that in St. Angarius's time the Greenlanders and Icelanders had not been discovered. So that the authorities of St. Rembert and Snorro Sturleson, remain firm and unshaken, maugre these falsified copies of the Papal Bull and Imperial Letters Patent; and we may rest assured, that Iceland was not discovered be-

* *Constitutum legatum, in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Sueonum, sive Danorum, nec non etiam Slavorum, aliarumq; in Aquilonis partibus, gentium constitutarum. Vita S. Ansgarii apud Langebeck Script. Hist. Dan. Tom i. p. 451, 452. Even Adam of Bremen, Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 17, mentions by name these three nations only, to which he adds, "et aliis coniacen[t]ibus in circuitu populis."*

fore the year 861, nor inhabited before 874; and that Greenland was hardly discovered previous to the year 888, or 889, or inhabited before 892. The former of these countries appears at that time to have had wood upon it. Nay, a comparatively modern writer even speaks of an orchard, which the Monks of St. Thomas endeavoured to keep in good order and increase its fertility by means of a warm spring which they carried through it.

The passion which the Normans had always manifested for making discoveries, still prevailed among them even in the cold regions of Iceland and Greenland. An Icelander, of the name of *Herjolf*, was accustomed, together with his son *Biorn*, to make a trip every year to different countries, for the sake of trading. About the year 1001 their ships were separated by a storm. *Biorn* being arrived at Norway, heard that his father *Herjolf*, was gone to Greenland. Upon this he resolved upon following his father thither; but another storm drove him a great way to the south-west of his track. In consequence of this, he descried a flat country, covered all over with thick woods; and just as he set out on his return, he discovered an island likewise. He made no stay at either of these places, but hastened as much as the wind would allow him to do, which had now fallen greatly, by a north-easterly course to Greenland. Here this event was no sooner known, than *Leif*, the son of *Eric Redbeard*, who had an inordinate desire to acquire glory, like his father, by making discoveries and founding colonies, fitted out a vessel, carrying 35 men, and taking *Biorn* with him, set out for this newly-discovered country. Having set sail, the first land he saw was rocky and barren. Accordingly, he called it *Helleland*, or Rockland. Upon this he came to a low land, with a sandy bottom, which, however, was over-grown with wood; on which account he named it *Markland*, or *Woody land*. Two days after this he saw land again, and an island lying before the northern coast of it. Here was a river, up which they sailed. The bushes on the

the banks of it bore sweet berries; the temperature of the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish, and particularly with very fine salmon. At last they came to a lake, from which the river took its rise. Here they determined to pass the winter, which they accordingly did; and in the shortest winter day, saw the sun eight hours above the horizon: this therefore supposes that the longest day (exclusive of the dawn and twilight) must have been 16 hours long. Hence again it follows, that this place being in the 49th degree of north latitude, in a south-westerly direction from Old Greenland, must either be the river *Gander*, or the *Bay of Exploits* in *Newfoundland*, or else some place on the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here they erected several huts; and they one day found in the thickets a German of the name of *Tyrker*, who had been missing, making himself very happy at having found grapes, from which, he told them, in his country they used to make wine. Leif having tasted them, from this circumstance, which appeared to him very remarkable, called the country *Winland dat Gode*; i. e. the Good Wine-country*.

In the following spring they returned to Greenland. This occasioned Thorwald, Leif's mother, to take a trip thither with the same suite as he had done, in order to make farther advances in this new discovery. Having explored the land that lay to the westwards, the next summer he investigated that which lay to the eastwards. The coast was covered with wood, and beset with islands; but they could neither perceive a human creature, nor indeed animals of any kind upon it.

The third summer after they examined the islands, where, on a point of land they damaged their ship to such a degree, that they found it necessary to build a new one, and the old vessel was laid up on

* It is true that grapes grow wild in Canada; but, though they are good to eat, yet nobody has ever been able to make any tolerable wine of their juice. But whether these wild grapes are to be found as far to the eastward as Newfoundland I cannot say. The species of vines which grow in North-America, are called by Linnæus, *Vitis labrusca*, *vulpina* et *arberca*.

the promontory, which for that reason they called *Kiæler Nisf*. Then they once more examined the eastern shore, and now they discovered three boats covered with leather, in each of which there were three men; these they seized: but one man found means to get off, the others were all wantonly and cruelly murdered by the Normans. Soon after this, however, they were attacked by a great number of these people with bows and arrows. A fence made of planks screened them in their ships against them, and they defended themselves with so much spirit, that their enemies having given them battle for the space of an hour, were obliged to decamp again. To these original inhabitants of the country, on account of their being very short in stature, they gave the name of *Skrællinger*, i. e. cuttings, or dwarfs. *Thorwald*, who in the skirmish had been dangerously wounded by an arrow, died, and over his tomb on the promontory were placed two crosses, agreeable to his request, which promontory obtained from this circumstance the name of *Kroffa-nesf*. His companions passed the winter in *Winland*, and in the beginning of the spring returned to Greenland.

In the same year, *Thorstein*, the third son of *Eric Raude*, set sail for *Winland*, with his wife *Gudrid*, the daughter of *Thorbern*, his children and servants, amounting in all to 25 souls; but they were by a storm cast on the western shore of Greenland. Being obliged to spend the winter there, he, as well as many more of his retinue, died, probably of the scurvy. In the spring, *Gudrid* took the corpse of her deceased husband home.

Thorfin, an Icelander of some consequence, surnamed *Kallsefnar*, and a descendant of King *Regner-Lodbrok*, married the widow *Gudrid*, and thereby thought himself intitled to the possession of the newly-discovered country. Accordingly, he set out for *Winland* with a vast quantity of household furniture and cattle, and with 65 men, and
5 women,

5 women, who begun to establish a regular colony there. They were immediately visited by the *Skrællingers*, who began to barter with them. From the circumstance we have mentioned before, viz. that these people were of a low stature, and had boats covered with leather, it seems probable that they were the ancestors of the present *Eskimaux*, who are the same people as the Greenlanders, and in the language of the *Abenaki* are called *Eskimantsik*, on account of their eating raw fish; in like manner as the Russians in their official papers of state call the *Samojedes Sirojed'zi*, because they also eat raw frozen fish and flesh.

The natives gave the Normans in exchange, the most costly furs for other wares. They would also willingly have bartered for their weapons, but this *Thorfin* had expressly forbidden. One of them, however, found an opportunity to steal a battle-axe, and having made trial of it immediately on one of his countrymen, whom he killed with it on the spot, a third person seized this mischievous instrument, and threw it into the sea. In three years time, the Normans having got a large stock of very rich furs and other articles of merchandise, *Thorfin* returned to Greenland. The riches he brought home, created in a great many of his countrymen a desire to try their fortunes in *Winland*. At length *Thorfin* went back to *Iceland*, where he built himself a very elegant house on an estate of his, called *Glaumba*, which he had purchased in the northern part of *Syffel*. After his decease, *Gudrid* his spouse made a voyage to Rome, and ended her days in *Iceland*, in a nunnery, which her son *Snorro*, who was born in *Winland*, had founded for her. *

* The descendants of *Snorro*, *Thorfin*'s son, were people of some eminence in *Iceland*, for *Thorlak*, the son of *Runnulf*, a nephew of *Snorro*, was in the year 1119 made Bishop of *Skalholt*. *Thorlak*'s son, *Brander*, was Bishop of the same place in 1163. A descendant of *Snorro*, by name *Biorno*, was also a Bishop in *Iceland*, and to the same dignity was promoted *Hauko*, an *Icelandic* judge, who lived in 1308, and wrote a Topography and Chronicle of *Iceland*, which is called *Haukubek*, i. e. Hauko's book, after the name of the author.

After

After this *Finbog* and *Helgo*, two Icelanders, fitted out each of them a ship, carrying 30 men, with which they made a voyage to Winland. They took along with them *Freidis*, a daughter of *Eric Raude*; but by her turbulent disposition she occasioned manifold divisions and quarrels in the colony; in one of which, *Helgo* and *Finbog* were killed, together with thirty men. Upon this *Freidis* returned to Greenland, where she lived universally despised and detested, and died in the greatest misery. The remaining Normans were dispersed; and it is probable, that their descendants were still in being for a long time after, though nothing farther positive was heard concerning them; for it is said, that A. D. 1121, about 100 years after the discovery and first cultivation of the land, Bishop *Eric* went from Greenland to Winland, in order to convert his countrymen who were still heathens. From this period we have no more intelligence with respect to Winland, and it is highly probable, that the tribe still existing in the interior parts of Newfoundland, which differs remarkably from all the American Savages as well in shape as in their manner of living, and lives in a state of constant enmity with the *Eskimaux* residing on the opposite northern coast, are descended from those ancient Normans.

Now it appears from hence, that the ancient Norman people were, strictly speaking, the first discoverers of *America*, and that, in fact, nearly 500 years before the discovery of it by *Christopher Columbus* in the year 1493, and before the discovery of *Newfoundland* by *Sebastian Cabot* in 1496. And, as it has long been a contested point, who were in reality the first discoverers of *America*, it is to be hoped, that this circumstantial detail of the discovery of the ancient Winland will meet with the readier excuse. The facts themselves have been collected from a great number of ancient Icelandic manuscripts, and have been handed down to us by *Thormod Thorfaus* in his two works intitled, *Veteris Groenlandiæ Descriptio*, Hafniæ, 1706, in 8vo, and *Historia*

Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, Hæfniæ, 1705, in 8vo. We also find early mention made of the country called *Winland*, in *Adam von Bremen's Church History*, p. 151; in like manner, very exact relations of these discoveries have been preserved in *Arngrim Jonas's Specimen Islandiæ Historicum*, and in many other writings; so that it is hardly possible to harbour the least doubt concerning the authenticity of this relation.

The only intelligence we meet with posterior to these first discoveries, is, that when about the year 999, *Leif*, the son of *Eric Rayde*, [made a voyage to Norway, and was by King *Olaf Tryggesson* persuaded to take upon him the Christian faith, he took Christian Priests over with him to Greenland, for the conversion of the remaining part of his countrymen. He landed there A. D. 1000, and his father, *Eric*, together with many people, went over to the Christian faith.

About 100 years after this, the Christian religion was diffused every where; upwards of 190 farms had already been laid out, with many small tenements on them; on the eastern side more than 12 churches and two convents had been erected; and on the western coast were built four churches. This great increase appeared to the inhabitants so considerable, that *Sok*, the nephew of *Leif*, having assembled the whole people at *Brettablid*, where the Judge, or *Lagmann* always used to reside, they were unanimously of opinion, that they might, with great propriety, have a bishop of their own; and, in fact, one *Eric* was pitched upon for this office; but it is supposed that, instead of going to Greenland, he went straight on to *Winland*, in order to convert the Normans, who were still heathens: however, nothing farther was ever heard concerning him. A learned priest, of the name of *Arnold*, was therefore, at the request of the Greenlanders, nominated their Bishop by *Sigurd*, King of Norway; and, having been consecrated by the Archbishop of *Lunden*, in *Schonen*, went to Greenland. We have an account of about 17 of these Bishops; but the *Skrællingers*, or pre-

sent

sent *Eskimaux*, began to shew themselves about the year 1376, and it is probable, that these people have at length extirpated the whole Norman race, particularly, as in the beginning of the 15th century, an entire stop was put to the navigation from Denmark and Norway to those parts. Neither was it possible to go thither from Iceland; for it is remarkable, that the whole eastern coast of Greenland is surrounded by ice-fields, which have lain there from time immemorial, and increase every year, and occasioning such cold weather, even in Iceland, that it is found to be at present far colder there than it was some centuries ago, when it was still possible to sow corn, and when forests were to be met with in many parts of the country. Even in Greenland there was a grove near the Bishop's residence, for the feeding of cattle, of which there are now no traces left in the whole western part of Greenland, which, however, is possessed of a milder climate than the other parts. Those circumstances have been the cause that nobody has been able to approach, even from Iceland, the inhabitants, thus cooped up and imprisoned. To this must be added, that in the beginning of the 15th century, an innumerable multitude of people were carried off from the year 1402 to 1404, by the *black death*, as it was called, or the pestilence: so that, what with the diminution of their numbers, the want of assistance from Norway and Iceland, and the increasing cold, the Norman inhabitants were weakened to such a degree, that at last it became an easy matter for the *Skrællingers* to make war upon them, and to extirpate them. In this situation those countries remained till the beginning of the 16th century, when a new spirit for investigating the earth, and for geographical researches, burst forth in Europe, and was continually kept alive by the accounts of the great discoveries made by the Portuguese and Spaniards.

C H A P. III.

Of the Discoveries made by the Italians in the North, as well by Land as by Sea.

IN general there were but two motives, which in these dark middle ages could induce people to undertake voyages to distant countries. In fact, it was a spirit of commerce and zeal for the diffusion of the Roman Catholic religion which imparted the courage and mental vigour necessary for great enterprizes, to men whose spirits had been debased, and the energy of whose minds had been destroyed by superstition, aided by the pressure of despotism, and of the feudal system. Consequently it was self-interest and enthusiasm alone, that operated on the torpid and uncultivated minds of mankind in those ages.

In the north of Europe and Asia, barbarism predominated, and that not unfrequently combined with the most savage abuse of that authority, which superior force and power had thrown into the hands of the most rude and uncultivated nations. From the north-east of Asia numbers of savage hordes issued forth, one after another, and diffused inexpressible misery over the whole human race in all those countries, which had the misfortune to lie in their way. The bad form of government of the states in those times; without fortified towns, without any good military arrangements, without funds in the treasury, for supplying the expences of their wars; together with the dismemberment of the small states, which were subject to petty Princes, unable to defend them, and the enfeebled condition of the greater, rendered their conquests but too easy to these encroaching destroyers of the universe. From the sea, which in the remotest east serves for a boundary

to the coast of China, as far as the Oder and Danube, every thing was exposed to the ravages of these people, who, like a whirlwind, lay every thing waste before them; and from India and its mountains, quite to the Icy-Sea, the *Moguls* (for so these barbarians were called) were the universal and uncontrouled masters. The terror which those *Moguls* had spread every where, determined the Pope to endeavour to stop the progress of their irresistible power by ambassadors; and at the same time to inflame their minds against the Infidels, or Mahometans, in Palestine and in Egypt. The Emperor Frederic II. invited all the European Princes to oppose this torrent, which, in a manner, overwhelmed every country by the conjunction of their collective forces. But what served to protect the European states against the farther depredations of these savage conquerors, was on one side the disunion subsisting among the Chiefs of the Mogul tribes, and on the other, the following circumstance, viz. that the valour as well as the rapacious disposition of the great, was diminished by riches and voluptuousness. The ambassadors that were sent to the Mogul Princes, were all of them mere Monks, because they alone were able to bear the terrible humiliations, when such kind of messengers were made to suffer. The Moguls then believed, as the Chinese do at this present time, that all the ambassadors from other Princes, who, according to the eastern custom, brought them presents, were come merely to acknowledge their supremacy, and to submit themselves to their Emperor and Khan; and therefore they very frequently obliged those ambassadors to make submissions of a very extraordinary nature, and to go through a ceremonial, which was sometimes highly degrading to humanity.

Besides those Monks, some noble Venetians likewise, who however were carried thither merely by the desire of gain, went to the country of the Moguls as far as to the residence of the *Kbans*. Finally, we have also some accounts of a few military men, who have penetrated a good way into the north-eastern parts of Asia, which are even as yet unknown.

known. All these relations are of very great importance for the purpose of bringing us acquainted with the north, and with respect to the history of the manners and characters of the northern nations. But our aim being merely to give a general sketch of the whole of the history of these people and countries, it is impossible for us to be so full and copious as the variety of objects presented may indeed require, but which would by no means correspond with our present plan.

Previous to mentioning the voyages of the monks in the North-east parts of Asia, we will make a few short remarks on the narrative of the travels of a Spanish Jew. He was called *Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, a small town in *Navarre*. His father was *Rabbi Jonas*; and probably lived also at *Tudela*. On the strength of the testimony of *Rabbi Abraham Zuka*, a celebrated astronomer, and professor at *Salamanca*, who lived in the fifteenth century, it is supposed, that this *Rabbi Benjamin* travelled from 1160 to 1173, or thereabout, and wrote his travels afterwards. Young *Barratier*, that early literary genius, asserts, that Benjamin never made the journey in reality, but patched up the whole work from the writings of his contemporaries. It is true, many of the incredible tales which he mentions, appear to be very strong proofs of this assertion: there are other circumstances which militate against it. For example; where he says, that he has heard himself from a certain *Rabbi Moses*, in *Ispahan*, a history of the unbelieving Turks. (Chap. xviii. &c.). The anomalies to be met with in his work, are to be attributed to the mistakes of the copyist, to his own want of memory, and to many other circumstances*.

* But these incredible tales are all in the taste of those times; and the other travellers of those ages, who are nevertheless believed to have travelled in reality, are quite as full of incredible relations. The whole difference is, that the tales which they relate are Christian tales, while these are Jewish. The others frequently take notice of the miracles of pretended Christian saints, and he, of those of Jewish Rabbies.

At the end of his travels he says, that *Prague* in Bohemia is the beginning of *Sclavonia*. Then he speaks of the Russian Empire, which extends from the gates of Prague to the gates of *Pbin* פִּין a large town at the beginning of the kingdom. In that country are the animals called *Wai-regres* ואירגריש and *Noblinatz* נבלינאץ. On the meaning of these words the interpreters are not agreed; but it appears clearly, that *Pbin* is no other than *Kiow*, the capital of the Russian Empire at that time. We should therefore here read בון and indeed the interpreters, from the final *nun* being wanting, might easily have supposed, that this name ought to have been written differently. Now follow the names of the animals; Russia has ever been famous for its grey foxes, or grey squirrels; these in the Russian language are called *Wjeworka*; in the Hebrew text therefore, we should read ואירגריש *Waiwergeres*, which is as nearly resembling the Russian as a Spanish Jew could possibly write it: and by the animals called נבלינאץ *Zeblinatz*, are meant *Sables*, the skins of which, *Jordanis* had before him called *Sappbilmas pelles*. For they have ever been a rare and choice fur. Excepting this little, *Rabbi Benjamin* has nothing at all relating to this our northern part of the globe.

II. The news of the victories of the Moguls, who on one side of the Caspian Sea, under the command of *Tuschi-Khan*, the son of the great *Zinghis-Khan*, and under that of the son of *Tuschi*, *Batu-Khan*, advancing through *Kiptschak*, *Russia*, *Poland* and *Hungary* had penetrated into *Silesia*; while the same people on the other side of the Caspian Sea, had, under the command of *Zagatbai Khan*, another son of *Zinghis-Khan's*, and of his nephew *Holangbu-Khan*, made their appearance on the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. This news having reached the ears of Pope Innocent IV. he thought it advisable in the convocation held at Lyons, A. D. 1245, that some of the clergy should go as ambassadors to these formidable conquerors, partly in order to pacify them, and to turn their conquests to some other object, and partly

partly to endeavour if possible to convert them to the Christian faith, and to direct their arms against the Turks and Saracens. For this purpose six monks were pitched upon, some of whom were *Minorites*, and others *Dominicans*. *John de Plano*, or *Palatio Carpini*, an Italian minorite, with friar *Benedict* likewise of the same order, as also brother *Ascelin* or *Anselm*, brother *Alexander*, brother *Albert*, and brother *Simon* of *St. Quentin*, all Dominicans. Out of these, *John de Plano Carpini*, and brother *Benedict*, went to the North of the Caspian Sea, to *Batu-Khan*, and to the chief of all the Moguls, the Emperor *Kajuk-Khan*; but brother *Ascelin*, with his assistants, brothers *Alexander*, *Albert*, and *Simon* of *St. Quentin*, went to the South of the Caspian Sea, through *Syria*, *Perfia*, and *Khorasan*, to *Baiju-Nojon*, or as the monks called him, *Bajothnoy*. This latter expedition contains nothing instructive with respect to the northern regions; we will therefore keep to the expedition of *John de Plano Carpini*, who travelled through Bohemia and Poland as far as Kiow, and from thence to the mouth of the *Dnieper* to *Korrensa*, a general of the Moguls. Finally, they crossed this river in winter when it was frozen, and set out to go eastwards over the *Don* and *Volga*, to *Batu-Khan*. Having waited upon him, they were informed by him, that they must go to the *Cuyne* (as they called him) or rather to the *Kajuk-Khan*. They travelled therefore on horseback in the coldest weather, and many days without food, through the land of the *Comanians*, to the northward of which are, *Russia*, *Bolgaria*, and the *Morduines*, as also the *Bastarks* (or rather *Baschkir's*) who are in possession of Upper Hungary, and behind these are the *Parosites** and the *Samojades*, who are said to have faces like those of dogs. To the South of the *Comanians* are the *Alanians*, the *Cir-*

* Meaning, perhaps, the *Parmosites*, or *Permiers*, or, as the Russians call them, *Permiaks*.

cassians,

cassians, and the *Chazars* *, the Grecians, the city of Constantinople, together with the *Iberians*, *Chathians* **, and *Brutakis* †; then the lands of the *Cythians* ‡, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, and *Turks*. Continuing now their journey, they came into the country of the *Kangittæ* ||, who were all shepherds like the *Comanians*, and did not practise agriculture.

From the land of the *Kangittæ*, they came to that of the *Bisfermini* (i. e. *Busurmen*, *Musurmen*, or Mahometan inhabitants of *Turkestan*) who in fact spoke the same language as the *Comanians*, but professed the religion of Mahomet. To the South of it were, Jerusalem, and *Baldach*, (*Bagdad*) and the whole country of the Saracens: To the North of it is *Black-Kathaya* (or *Karakitbai*) §, in which the Emperor has built himself a palace. From thence they travelled for some days along a lake which was all the while on their left hand, and in which there were many islands. The Emperor being not yet formally elected and established on the throne, they could not yet go into

* The *Alans* and *Circassians* are still the inhabitants of Caucasus; but what part of it they inhabit, and whether the *Chazars* still inhabit those regions, I am entirely ignorant. In the time of the Emperor *Constantin Porphyrogenata*, A. D. 949, the *Chazars* lived in Crimea, near the mouth of the *Kuban*, and to the North of the *Sea of Azof*.

** This name is probably *Kaketi*, a province of *Gurgistan*, or *Georgia*, which is called here *Iberia*.

† The *Brutaks*, or *Brutachs*, are probably still existing, for we find in the range of the Caucasus, innumerable remnants of small nations. In the original map of Caucasus, by Major General *Frauentorf*, we find, to the South of the *Alanians*, a people called *Brutani*; but as it is easy in the Russian language to confound the *n* with the *k*, it is very probable, that the name of this people should be *Brutaki*. In a note, it is added, that they are an independent people, and have a language of their own, as also silver and copper coin.

‡ *Cythians*. In all probability this should be the *Cyrbians*, or, as the word is generally written, *Zicbians*.

|| *Kangittæ*; these people are also frequently called *Kanglis*, or *Kanklis*. They extend from the *Jaik*, or, as it is now called, *Ural*, to the *Sirr*, or *Sirdaria*; and their habitations extended even to the river *Talas*, or *Talash*, and *Ishkul*. The country they lived in was an uncultivated desert plain.

§ *Oktaikhan*, or *Ugadai Khan*, built in *Karakitbai* the town *Omyl*, or *Chamyl*.

his *Horde*. They went therefore to the land of the *Naymans*, who are heathens, and inhabit a very high, mountainous, and cold country, for in fact, it snowed there on the 29th of June. Then travelling on for three weeks longer, they arrived at length at the *Cuyne's*, or *Kajuk-Khan's*, who was then just going to be elected Emperor; where they were well received, and treated better than other ambassadors. Having had an audience of the Emperor, they were dismissed, and went back the same road by which they had come.

The country of the Tartars is in that part of the east which borders on the north; towards the east they have *Kathay* and the *Solangers* **: To the south the *Saracens*, to the south-west the *Huirs* (or *Uigurs*) to the west the *Naymans*, and to the north the Great Ocean. The place where they waited on the Emperor was called *Syra Horda*.

They acknowledge but one God, the Creator of all things, visible and invisible; who distributes to all mankind rewards and punishments, according to their deserts. But they do not pay any particular worship to him. On the other hand, they have many idols made of felt (called in the Russian tongue *Woelocks*) which they fix up in their houses; some are even made of silk, and are more honoured than the others. To these they sacrifice some part of what they eat and drink, as also the hearts of the beasts they kill. In short, they seem to have professed the *Schaman* religion, which is an elder branch of that of the Bramins and of *Dalai Lama*. They were accustomed to leave those that were dangerously sick to themselves, and afterwards, when they died, to return and bury them, which the *Calmucks* still do at this time. They were polygamists, and had many virtues, but were not without their failings.

III. The views of the Moguls were merely to put the Christians off with fair words, and then, on the first opportunity that offered, to carry the war into their countries when they least expected it, and

** The *Solangers* are, without doubt, the very same nation with the *Mandburians*, who are still to this day called *Solonians*.

agreeably to their constant custom, to ravage and destroy every thing they came near. In the years 1246 and 1247, another ambassador arrived from the Pope, who was also a Monk, and was named *Andr w Luciumel*. But, notwithstanding this, the preparations for war against the Christians went on without interruption. The Emperor sent several troops against the people that had rebelled against him in *Korea*, and died soon after, having removed from *Karakorum*, more westward to *Kamsatki*, by which means this design of his was entirely frustrated.

IV. To the new-elected Emperor, *Mangu Khan*, who was chosen in the year 1251, and of whom it was reported in the west, that he had been converted to the Christian religion, King Lewis IX. of France, sent, in the quality of Ambassador, a Brabantine Friar, of the minorite order, by name *William Ruysbroek*, otherwise called *Rusbrock*, *Rubruck*, and *Rubruquis*.

Ruysbroeck went from Constantinople by sea, to the Black Sea, to *Gasaria* (Crimea) to that part of *Soldeya*, which is otherwise called *Sogdat*, or *Soldadia*, and at this present time *Sudak*, to the westward of which is the town called *Kersona* (Cherson , or Cherson) which according to *Inkerman*, is the modern *Schurzi*, or *Gurzi*, or *Scherfon*. But to the east, at the mouth of the *Tanais*, is *Maricandis*, and the town *Matriga*, or *Materca* *; for the *Don*, before it falls into the sea, forms yet another lake towards the north, the depth of which is not above six paces, while in length it is 700 Italian miles. To this *Materca* merchants go from Constantinople to buy dried fish, viz. *Sturgeons*, *Thoses*, or *Tunnies*, and *Barbels*. Beyond the mouth of

* *Maricandis* and *Matriga*, or *Materca*, must be sought for on the shores of the Straits. The first name appertains to a village or island, which lies opposite to the Straits, and is at this present time called *Tamenda*. At the mouth of one of the branches of the river *Kuban* is the town of *Tem-ruck*, which was formerly called by the Russians *Tmutrakhan*, and by the Greeks, *Tamatarcha*; this is *Ta-materca*, or *Materca*, and *Matriga*. Some Russian Princes even had their residences in *Tmutrakhan*; Prince *Mstislaf*, for instance, the son of *Wladimir the Great*, and brother of *Jaroslav I.* was Prince of *Tmutrakhan*.

this

this lake is *Zichia*, which is not subject to the Tartars, and the *Suevi* (or *Suani*) and the *Iberians*. The whole country, from the mouth of the Tanais as far as the Danube westward, all is subject to the Tartars, and even beyond the Danube towards Constantinople. The whole of *Walachia*, which is the country belonging to *Affan**, and the whole of *Bulgaria*, quite to *Solinia*, (or *Solonoma***,,) pay them tribute.

Along these shores, between *Karfona*, *Soldeya*, and the mouth of the *Don*, there are many high promontories. But from *Soldeya* to *Kersona* are about 40 castles, each of which has its peculiar language; amongst them are many *Goths*, whose mother-tongue is the German***. Going from *Soldaya* across the mountains, they came into a plain, where they found a forest, and where, near the land's end, there are stagnated salt-lakes, the salt of which crystalizes like ice, and was sold, by *Sartach* and *Batu*, at the rate of a waggon load, such as could be drawn by two horses, for two pieces of cotton stuff, or for one *hyperpyron*, which is the value of about two dollars. Ships also take in ladings of this salt. Then he went across a fossé which is drawn at the end of *Gazaria* from one sea to the other (perhaps near *Perekop*). Upon this they travelled to the eastward on the north side of

* A. D. 1235, *John Affan* became King of Bulgaria, and reigned till 1241, when his son *Koloman*, succeeded him in the throne till 1245, and was in his turn succeeded by *Affan's* second son, *Michael*, who waged war against the Tartars, and against *John Vatatzes*. But how comes it then to pass that *Ruybroeck* gives Walachia to Affan, and not Bulgaria, the empire he inherited from his father, of which he nevertheless makes mention immediately after?

** By this probably is meant *Thessalonica*, or *Salonica*.

*** *Ruybroeck* is the first who spoke of these *Goths* in Crimea. After him, a Venetian, named *Josaphat Barbaro*, has made mention of them A. D. 1436, in his *Viaggio alla Tanna*, parag. 20; and afterwards *Bussbeck* spoke to some of those *Goths*, Ambassadors from the Crimean Tartary, A. D. 1562, and gives us a catalogue of words of their language. Upon this testimony of *Ruybroeck* depends the existence of the *Castella Judeorum*, or rather *Gothorum*, which are laid down in some ancient maps of Crimea, and which even that respectable geographer, father *Dauville*, has admitted into his maps, and transformed them, into *Chateaux des Juifs*.

the sea, and saw many Comanian sepulchres, and *Kaptscbak Comanians*, who reached from the Danube to the Don, and to the river *Etilia*, or *Wolga*. Between the two last rivers, it is 10 long days journey more. To the north of *Kaptscbak-Comania* is Russia, full of forests: this country is daily ravaged by the Tartars; and when the poor people have no more gold and silver left to give, they drive them away together with their children, like cattle, and make them tend their flocks. Beyond the Don, they found a people called *Moxel* *; the principal Lords of which the Tartars had taken with them to Germany, where they were killed. They are all heathens, and have a great quantity of hogs, wax, rich furs, and falcons. Then follow next to these, the *Merdas*, called in Latin, *Merduas* **, who are of the Mahometan religion. Farther on to the eastwards is the great river *Etilia* ***, which is the largest river *Ruybroeck* ever saw. It comes from the northward and from *Great Bulgaria*, and to the southward empties itself into a large lake, or sea, which takes four months to travel round its circumference. To the south are large mountains, which are inhabited by the *Cergis* † (or *Kergis*) and the *Alanians* (or *Akas* ‡) who are Christians and make war

* *Mokscba* is the name the *Morduani* call themselves by; these people therefore are probably the *Moxel* of *Ruybroeck*.

** By these *Morduas*, or *Merdas*, are in all probability meant the *Tscheremisses*, who call themselves *Mart-Murt*, or the people of *Mari*; but *Ruybroeck* (in the same manner as *Guaguinus* has done) very erroneously calls them Mahometans, merely because they do not work on Fridays, a practice which they probably learned from the neighbouring Mahometan Tartars; for they themselves are all heathens.

*** The river *Wolga* is called *Idel* by the Tartars, the *Tschuwafches* call it *Atel*, or *Atal*, from which the word *Etilia* seems to be derived. Taken in its general signification, the word means a river; and this is in fact, as *Ruybroeck* calls it, the greatest river in Europe.

† The *Cergis*, or *Kergis*, are the same as the *Tscherkæsbians*, or *Circassians*.

‡ The *Alanians* are called by *Ruybroeck* *Akas*, probably from *Odigas* (*Adgas*, *Adkas* and *Akas*.) But it is the *Tscherkæsbians* who call themselves *Adigas*, and not the *Alanians*. I find in the manuscript remarks of the late professor *Thunman* on *Bergeron's* collection of travels, which are to be

war upon the Tartars. Towards the great sea, viz. the Caspian, are some Mahometans called *Lefghi*, who are tributary to the Tartars. Beyond these is the iron gate, (Derbend*,) built by Alexander the Great, to hinder the irruption of the Barbarians into Persia.

Having travelled for seven days to the eastwards from the *Don*, they came at length to the camp of *Sartach* the son of *Batu*, and having had an audience of him, they went to the *Wolga*, three days journey, and in boats five days journey, down to the camp of *Batu-Khan*, on the East side of the river. They had an audience of him also; and soon after, having followed his camp for some time, they went with a *Moal* (Mogol) of distinction to the eastward, through the land of the *Cangla*, who are descendants of the ancient *Romani* (Komani), being previously provided with pelisses and boots of felt. Having travelled for the space of twelve days from the *Wolga* eastwards, they came to the river *Jagag* (*Jaik*, or *Aral*), which runs from the North out of the land of the *Pascatirs*** into the sea above-mentioned. The language of the *Pascatirs* is the same as that of the Hungarians. To the westward of them is *Bulgaria*, but

found in the library of the University at *Halle*, that against the word *Akas* he has written in the margin *Adiga*; but this was reversed by the remark made by professor *Guldonstædt*, in *Busching's Weekly Intelligencer* for the year 1773, according to which the *Tjcherkæschians* call themselves *Adiga*. But the *Alanians*' next neighbours in the mountains are the *Diketi*, or *Adiketi*, whence *Adketi*, *Adkest*, and finally, *Atas*. And as the Russian princes in *Tmutrakan* had a Lordship in this neighbourhood, it is very possible that they may have converted some of the nations dwelling in the Caucasus to the Christian religion, of which indeed the Russians have lately discovered many traces.

* Of this pass and of the ancient wall, which runs from *Derbent* to the westward, *Bayer* treats in his Dissertation *De Muro Caucasæ*, in the Commentar. Petropolit. tom. i. pag. 425, to 436.

** *Pascatir* is also written *Baschart*, or *Bascart*. This country was the seat of the ancient Hungarians, or *Madjbars* (*Magyar*). The *B* is often used for *M*, and *vice versa*; so that *Baschart* and *Madjbar* seem to be absolutely the same. The Russians call the people that inhabit this ancient *Baschart*, *Baschkirs*.

their country has neither towns nor villages, of which none are to be met with from thence-forward, neither to the East, nor to the North; so that the *Lesser Bulgaria* is the last country in which there are any. From this land of *Pascatir*, (*Baschart*, or *Bascart*), came by the *Huns*, who are now called Hungarians, and consequently this is *Great Bulgaria*. It is reported of the *Huns*, that they penetrated through the Pass of Alexander in the Caucasus, and mounted on their swift horses, laid waste every country as far as Egypt, and on the other side as far as France. They were still more powerful than the Modern Tartars (or Mogols), and were opposed by the *Blacs* (*Wlachs*), *Bulgarians*, and *Vandals*. For these *Bulgarians* came from *Great Bulgaria*, and those beyond the Danube near Constantinople, as well as those near the *Pascatir*, are the *Ilacs*, which is the same as *Blacs*; for the Tartars cannot pronounce the *B*. Now, from these are descended those who are in the country of *Affan*. For they are both called *Ilac* (both these and the other) in the language of the Russians, Poles, and Bohemians. The language of the *Sclavonians* is the same with that of the *Vandals*. All the *Sclavonians* were connected with the *Huns*, and now they are also united with the Tartars. What I, viz. *Ruybroeck*, have related of the land of *Pascatir*, I have learned from the monks Predicant, who went thither before ever the Tartars came abroad; and from that time they were subjugated by the neighbouring Mahometan Bulgarians, and many of them became Mahometans *. Having travelled on to the eastward from

* This important passage seems not to have been perfectly well comprehended by many people, nor made all the advantages of which it is capable of affording. As well the ancient and primitive *Bulgarians*, as also the *Baschartians*, or *Madjbars*, seem to be either a nation which is descended from a Turkish tribe, but which having lived for a long time amongst, or in the vicinity of the eastern and northern Russian tribes, which speak the language of the Finlanders, have in consequence thereof adopted much of the language of those people, or else they are entirely of Finnish extraction; that is to say, they originate from the same people from whom the Finlanders

from Holy-rood day, or the 14th of September, to All-saints day, or the 1st of November, they found that the people were already gone with their flocks to the South; they therefore directed their course to the southward over some mountains. In this journey they met

landers, Esthonians, Laplanders, Livonians, Permians, Syrjanians, Woguls, Wotiaks, Tschemissies, Morduanians, and the Kondian Ostiaks descend, as there is a great affinity between the languages of all these people. The Baschartians, Madfchars, or Baschkirians, are descended from the Finlanders, but these, and the Tschuwafches have adopted the languages of their conquerors, the Tartars. But Ruybroeck is certainly much mistaken, when he makes the *Huns* also proceed from the same stock. It must be owned, however, that tribes of very different and quite foreign nations went along with the Huns; even Goths, Sclavonians, and Alanians; it is therefore not to be wondered at, that some tribes of Finlanders likewise, or even Turks, should have advanced with them in their grand predatory and devastatory expeditions to the western countries, as far as France and Italy. Of these tribes it was the *Bulgarians* (so called, perhaps, after their capital *Buljar*, from which too afterwards, to the great river *Atel*, or *Etil*, got the name of *Wolga*), and the *Walachs*, or *Wolochs*, or *Wologars*, or *Wolgars*, (and consequently these same Bulgarians) which A. D. 489, settled on the north side of the Danube. The *Vandals* mentioned here, are indubitably the *Wends*, or that tribe of the Sclavonians which opposed the Moguls and the Tartars who fought under the banners of the latter. *Ruybroeck* seems to confirm the conjecture, that the *Bulgarians* and the *Wologi*, or *Wolochi*, or *Wlacs*, or *Ilacs*, are one and the same people. He says; "from Great Bulgaria come as well the *Bulgarians* beyond the Danube, as also those near the *Pascatir* are the *Ilac*, which, however, is the same as "*Blac*," (or in the manner in which the *B* is frequently pronounced, *Wlac*). In fact, we should read here, "these are the *Ilac*." The original runs thus, "de illâ enim Majori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari; et qui sunt ultra Danubium prope Constantinopolin & juxta Piscatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac." Here it seems as if the article *bi* should be supplied, and the passage should be read "hi sunt Ilac." But when *Ruybroeck* says, "that the name of these people in the Russian, Polonian, and Bohemian tongues is *Ilac*," he is much mistaken, for in all these languages it must be, *Wlach*, or *Wloch*; and even *Nestor* calls them *Wolochs*. The land of *Affan* is Bulgaria on the Danube; consequently, he means only to indicate, that the Bulgarians who first settled on the Danube were *Wologians*. The Bulgarians or *Wologians* on the Danube, had an original language of their own, but having much intercourse with the *Sclavonians*, *Albanians*, and *Romans*, this produced a jargon compounded of Albanian, Sclavonian, and Latin, or of the *lingua rustica*, or language of the Romish peasants; this mixed language is still spoke in *Walachia*. Before I end this remark, I shall only add, that probably in Germany and France, the custom of castrating horses was first learned from these eastern nations; for in French, a castrated horse or gelding is called *un hongre*, probably from the Hungarians; the German name for it is, *Wallach*, taken, as it should seem, from these *Wlachsians*; and even in the Polish language a gelding is called a *Walach*.

with

with wild asses, called *Kolan**, which resembled mules. At the end of seven days, they saw some very high mountains at a distance. Here they came into a plain which was well watered, and found the land cultivated. And soon after this they arrived at a town called *Kenkat*. The guides could not even tell Ruysbroeck the name of the country. It was watered by a large river proceeding from the mountains: this river, however, did not discharge itself into any sea, but lost itself in the ground, and produced large marshes there. Here he saw vines growing, and procured wine to drink. The next day they came to another dwelling, nearer to that chain of mountains, which beyond the Caspian Sea, forms the Caucasus, and runs on to the eastward of it. He found here, that they had entirely passed by the Caspian Sea. Here too, *Ruysbroeck* enquired after a town called *Talas*, in which lived some Germans, subjects of *Bury*, according to what he had heard from Friar Andrew. But he obtained no information concerning them till he arrived at the court of *Mangbu-Khan*; and all he learned there was, that the town called *Talas* lay about six days journey farther in the mountains. At the court of *Mangbu-Khan* he was told, that the *Khan*, with the consent of *Batu*, had placed these people at the distance of more than a month's journey to the East, where they wrought in the gold mines, and forged arms; so that he could not get to see them. It is true, in his road, he had got so near, as to be within three days journey of them, but did not know it, nor, indeed, if he had, would he have ventured to go so far out of his road on this account†. From this last place, they
went

* The wild asses in these parts are still called *Kulan*; this therefore is a confirmation of *Ruysbroeck's* veracity. Farther particulars concerning these wild asses are to be found in the 2d vol. of M. Pallas's *Northern Collections*, [*Nordische Beiträge*] page 22, &c.

† It is evident, that the author went through the whole desert, from the *Volga* to the *Jaik*, or *Ural*, the *Jemba*, and the north of lake *Aral*, as far as the borders of *Turkestan*. The
town

went to the Eastward along the mountains before-mentioned, and came to the subjects of *Mangbu-Khan*, who paid great honours to the ambassadors of *Batu*, for *Batu's* people assume more consequence than the others, and do not obey so willingly. A few days after, they came into the mountains where the *Kara-Katbaians* * had formerly dwelled; here they met with a large river, which they were obliged to cross in a ship. They then descended into a valley, in which they found the ruins of a castle, though the walls of it were only of clay; the country round about it was cultivated. Thence they came to a good town, called *Equius*: the inhabitants spoke the Persian tongue, and professed the Mahometan religion. The next day, having crossed the high hills which communicated with the great mountains to the southward, they arrived on a large and very beautiful plain, on the right of which was a ridge of high mountains, and on the left a lake 15 days journey in circumference. This country is watered at pleasure by the streams coming from the mountains, which at last flow altogether into this lake. When they returned in the summer, they went along the north side of the lake, where there were also very high mountains. In the above-mentioned plains there had formerly been many towns, but they had almost all been demolished, that the Tartars (i. e. Moguls) might graze their herds there;

town of *Kenkat* is about the spot where now *Kaschkanat* is situated. The rivers *Tschui* and *Talas*, both of which are in that neighbourhood, lose themselves both in marshy lakes. The country thereabouts is fertile and pleasant; and it is not unlikely that there was formerly on the river *Talas* a town of the same name. In fact, there is to the eastward, at this present time, the town called *Bolak*, or *Hauluk*, or *Baulak*, though not at so great distance from thence as Ruysbroeck had been informed it was. These parts also produce good wines.

* The western *Khitans* conquered the countries round *Turfan* and *Kaschkar*, from the *Ob* and *Irtisch* to the *Amudaria* (*Oxus* Gihon, *Dsaihun*): and *Sirdaria* (*Jaxartes*, *Sirt*, *Sihon*) and the country was called *Kbitar*, after the conquerors of it, the *Khitaians*, and, because the inhabitants were obliged to pay tribute to the *Khitaians*, *Kara-Khitai*; in the east, all small, insignificant nations that pay tribute, being called *Kara*, or *black*; while the free nations, on the contrary, are called *white*: the Russian Czar, for instance, is by the people of the east called the *white Czar*.

for

for about this spot there are the finest pastures for cattle. They found a large town called *Kailac* * (*Cailac*, or *Cealec*), where there was a market, or fair, to which a number of merchants resorted. Here they waited a whole fortnight for a secretary of *Batu's*, who was to assist their guides in the dispatch of *Batu's* affairs at the court of the Khan. The whole of this country was wont to be called *Organum*, and they had a language, as well as written characters, peculiar to themselves. But it was altogether occupied at this time by the *Kontomanni*. The *Nestorians*, in their divine worship, were accustomed to make use of the language and written characters of this people. Here he likewise found the Nestorians mixed with the Heathens,

* The whole of this country may be pointed out with the greatest exactness. For the large sea, or lake, mentioned by the author, is the *Balchash Nor*, or *Palkasi*, which, in the new large map of Russia, published in the year 1776, by the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, is and republished in Mr. Coxe's useful and entertaining *Travels into Russia*, is called *Lac Tengis*, i. e. the Lake Sea; for *Tenges*, or *Zengbiz*, signifies a sea or lake; and this sea is so large, that it is hardly possible to travel round it in less than 15 days. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree broad, and consequently about 480 miles in circumference, which is at the rate of 32 miles per day; and these are, in fact, long days journeys, unless one has relays of horses. Into this lake several rivers discharge themselves, but particularly the *Ili*, not far from which the *Kalmuck Hungarian Khans* used to pitch their winter camp (*Urga*) on the banks of the river *Korgos* (or *Harkas*) in like manner as their summer camp used to be on the banks of the *Tekes*, which ran westwards into the *Ili*. All these rivers come from the *Mus-Tau*, or the icy-mountains, and run together with the *Ili* into the *Palkasi*. By the town *Equius* is meant the *Ak-su*, situated on the river *Tekes*. The town of *Kailak* is also to be found in the above-mentioned map, being there called *Golka*, and placed on the banks of the *Ili*. The country called *Organum*, is, in my opinion, the *Irgonkon* (or *Irganakon*) of *Abulgasi Bayadar Khan*, vol. ii. cap. 5, for it signifies a valley, surrounded by steep mountains, which exactly answers to Ruybroeck's description of the country of *Organum*. The *Kontomanni* are people entirely unknown; neither can I any where find any traces of them. We must therefore endeavour to seek them out. They were certainly a Mogul tribe; for they were in the number of those particular subjects of Manghu Khan, who had dislodged the Kara-Kithaians. The Moguls had long before extended to a great distance northwards along the banks of the *Ob*, *Irtish*, and *Ischim*, quite to the ocean. The people of that tribe, which lived on the banks of the river *Kbonda*, or *Konta*, were called *Kontomanni*, in like manner as the Turks were called *Turkomanni*. Now these *Kontomanni* appear in the course of time, and after the destruction of the empire of the *Kara-Khitans*, to have settled on the banks of the river *Ili*, and of the lake *Balchash*, or *Palkasi*. This river *Kbonda*, or *Konda*, was afterwards added to the title of the Czar, in which we find inserted the province of *Obdoria*, a name derived from the river *Ob*, and that of *Kondinia*, from the *Konda*.

whens, of whom there are different species. But first are the *Jugurs*, whose country is situated between the mountains above-mentioned to the eastward of *Organum*. But in all the towns the *Nestorians* live promiscuously amongst the Mahometans, and are scattered every where up and down in the Mahometan towns as far as Persia. These *Nestorians* are Heathens, worship idols, and have paternosters, or beadrolls, with about 100, or 200 beads on each; the words in which they pray, are, *Ou Mam Haftai*, i. e. "God, thou knowest it," as one of them explained it to Ruysbroeck *. They also believe that as often as they repeat this prayer, so often will God reward them. From these people it is that the Tartars or Monks have got their alphabet and mode of writing. They begin to write at the top of their paper, on the left-hand side, drawing their line downwards, and so go on repeating their lines from the left to the right **. *Zinghis Khan* gave his daughter

* These Nestorians, who had several usages and customs corresponding with Christianity, but were at the same time idolaters, are undoubtedly professors of the *Dalai-Lamai* religion. They have, like the Roman Catholic Christians, 108 beads, and their prayer is, strictly speaking, as follows: *HOm-Mani-Pema-Hum*. This is, in fact, the profession of faith of the followers of this religion; but neither signifies, as Ruysbroeck asserts it does, *God, thou knowest it*, nor, as the Physician *Messer Schmid* supposed, *God have mercy upon us*; but the true and real import of it is, "that the Beginning and End of the higher magic, of *Mani*," who holds the flowers of the Lotus, who hears those who pray to him in these words, is propitious to them, and renders them happy. Vid. *Alphabet Tibet.* p. 500, &c. M. Pallas pronounces these words thus, *Om ma wie pad ma ebum*. But it should rather seem that the *d* in *pad* is mute, and also that we should read, not *ma wie*, but, *ma ni*. They have rolls or cylinders, which they twirl round, for they turn on an axis, and have a weight fixed to them for the purpose of accelerating the motion, and they believe, that all the prayers contained on those rolls, are virtually, and to all intents and purposes, pronounced at each turn of the roll; and all the time they are twirling them, they continually repeat, *Hom mani pema hum*. It is possible, that the religion of *Dalai Lama* may partake somewhat of the Nestorian system of Christianity; but in fact it is a branch of the *Brabminic* and *Schamanic* superstitions; and has also for its foundation the *Manichean* doctrine of the two principles. Now Manes having attempted to incorporate this doctrine of the two principles with the Christian religion, it is no wonder, that in many points, the religion of the Manichean Christians accords with that of *Lamai*.

** The Nestorian Christians undoubtedly penetrated as far as the north of China, and propagated the Christian religion there. They made use of the Syrian character in writing, and it was

daughter to the king of the *Jugurs*, and the town of *Kara Korum* * itself is in a manner within their territory; and the whole country of *Prefter John*, ** and of his brother *Vut*, lies round about their dominions. The *Moals* (Moguls) live in the plain pastures to the North, but the *Jugurs* in the mountains to the South. Between the same mountains, to the East of the *Jugurs* are the *Tangutians*. These are a brave, intrepid nation, and once took Zinghis Khan, but released him again. They have exceedingly strong oxen, the tails of which are bushy like those of horses, and which have also long hair along their backs and under the bellies; their legs are shorter, but they are much fiercer than other oxen; they draw the large houses of the Moguls, and have long, taper, and sharp horns,

this likewise which was first introduced into these countries. The characters and mode of writing of the *Calmucks*, *Moguls*, and *Mandchurians*, are taken from the *Uigurian*, and these again from the *Syrian*. The *Syrians* also still continue to this day to write exactly as the *Calmucks* do, viz. they begin at the top, and draw a line down to the bottom, with which line the letters are in contact from the top down to the bottom of it; and so they continue to write one line after the other, at each line going farther on to the right, and carrying their writing from the top to the bottom; but in reading, the *Moguls* and *Calmucks*, in like manner as the *Syrians*, turn the leaf sideways, and read from the right to the left. This I have seen myself during my stay in the great desert plain beyond the *Volga*, where I was intimately acquainted with a great number of *Calmucks*, and enquired minutely into every particular relative to their religion and learning, their manners, their government, and their Princes.

* This same *Karakorum* is also called *Karakorum*, *Karakuran*, *Karakum*; and by the Chinese *Holin*. It was the capital of the *Mogul* Emperors, and was situated on the east side of the river, *Orchon*; for, notwithstanding that *Danville* places this town on the *Ongui Muren*, yet *Fischer's* determination upon this point, in his *Introduction to the History of Siberia*, § 18, seems to me to be more just.

** *Prefter John* (or *Priester Johann*, as the Germans call him) is the *Untchan*, a word which has been strangely perverted and twisted, in order to make it form the name of *Johann*, or *John*. He was Prince of the *Naymanni*, and his name was *Tegrid*; having served the Chinese against nations which had rebelled against them, he was dignified with the honorary title of *Uang*, or *Ung*, out of which was soon fabricated the appellation of *Uacchan*, or *Untchan*. But how it comes to pass, that he is called a Christian, and even a Christian Priest, seems almost incomprehensible.

which the owners of the beasts are obliged to pay off*. After the Tangutians come the people of *Tebet*, who used to eat their dead parents; but they have left off this custom, on account of their being held in universal detestation for it; nevertheless, they still make large drinking vessels of the skulls of their parents. There is much gold in this country. These people are very ugly; but the *Jugurs* are of a middle size like us. The language of the *Jugurs* is the root and source of the Turkish and Komanian languages. Behind *Tebet* are the people of *Langa* and *Solanga***, whose ambassadors Ruysbroeck saw at court, each of whom had brought along with him more than ten waggons drawn by six oxen. Behind these, are the people called *Muc*, who dwell in towns, and whose cattle are so tame, that they come entirely of their own accord when called, and allow themselves to be handled at pleasure, though they run about wild. Then comes Great *Kathaya*, the inhabitants of which, according to Ruysbroeck, are the *Seres* of old, for from this country come the best filken stuffs, (*Serica*). The *Seres* are so called, from a town in that region, and in this country is a town which has walls of silver and

* The Buffalo, here described by Ruysbroeck, is the Calmuck Buffalo, which used to be called *Saruck*, and, in the language of *Tibet*, *Jak*. Since *Aelian's* time, no one of the ancients, besides Ruysbroeck, has given a description of these Buffaloes with long-haired coats and thick tails, which latter are used in the Indies as fly-flaps. Afterwards these animals were seen by *Marco Polo*, and now lately by *Bogle*, an Englishman, in this very country of *Tibet*. Vid. *Philosophical Transact.* 1777, Part ii. vol. 67. pag. 484. Finally, the best account we have of them, has been given by *Pallas*, in his *Northern Collections*, vol. i. pag. 1. to 28, plate i.

** The country and people of *Tangut* are by some authors, particularly the Arabians and Persians, mistaken for *Tibet* the seat of *Dalai Lama*; but *Marco Polo* says, that *Sachien*, or *Sotichen*, is situated in *Tanguth*, or *Tenguth*; in like manner, *Khamil*, or *Khami*, belonged also to *Tanguth*; and so did *Kampition*, or *Khantichen*. It appears probable, therefore, that the *Tanguth* of Ruysbroeck is the same with this. The land of *Tebet* is doubtless the modern *Tibet*, or, as it should in strict propriety be called, *Butan*. But of the countries of *Langa* and *Solanga*, lying beyond *Tebet*, I have not the smallest knowledge, but am apt to think that in Ruysbroeck's original manuscript the words were not "beyond *Tebet*," but "beyond *Tangut*;" and in this case the countries here mentioned must be those of the *Lamuts*, and *Solamuts*, the parent stocks of the people now known by the name of the *Manichus*, or *Manichurians*.

ramparts or towers of gold*. And many provinces of Great *Katbay* are not as yet brought into subjection by the Mogols. Between the great sea and them lies India. The *Katbayans* are of a low stature, and speak through the nose, and, like all the eastern nations, have small eyes. They perform works of great art and ingenuity, and have skilful physicians, who judge of diseases by the pulse. Ruysbroeck saw many of them at *Karakarum*. Each father teaches his son his own trade. The Nestorians and Mahometans are also in *Katbay*, and are looked upon as foreigners, come from foreign parts. The Nestorians inhabit fifteen towns of the country of *Katbay*. Their Bishop resides in the city of *Segin* **. Here *Ruysbroeck* takes an opportunity of

* The supposition that the *Katbayans*, or inhabitants of north China, are the same with the *Seres* of the ancients, seems to be without foundation. The *Seres* lived in *Turkestan*, *Gete*, and *Uigur*. They were the people, who at that time ruled over a great tract of Asia, and probably had also extended their dominion over the northern part of China. The nation that bore the sway had always the denomination of Golden given to it. Hence the golden horde of the Moguls on the Wolga; and hence the powerful Prince to whom the Moguls were subject, even before Zinghis Khan, was called *Altyn Khan*, or the Golden Khan. Hence, too, the Chinese call themselves *Kin*, i. e. the Golden or Sovereign Nation. In the language of Tibet, *Ser* means gold. Vid. *Ant. Georgii Alphabët. Tibet. Romæ*, 1762, pag. 654. And hence perhaps *Serbind* was called the Golden India. The *Seres* were consequently at that time the sovereign, dominating, or golden people. Their capital bore the same name, according to Ruysbroeck; probably this golden town is that part of *Peking* which is called *Tse-kin*, and contains the palace of the Emperor; and, as fabulous a sound as these walls of silver and ramparts of gold may carry with them, it is nevertheless evident enough, that it is the appellation of *Kin*, or the Golden Town, which has given rise to these exaggerated reports of the fable.

*Non est de nihilo, quod publica fama susurrat,
Et partem veri fabula semper habet.*

** This town of *Segin* is undoubtedly *Sigan*, the capital of *Sibenfi*, a province in the north-eastern part of China. Here, in the year 1625, a stone was found with Chinese writing on it, but with Syrian letters round the edge, which mentioned, in express terms, that the Syrian Nestorians had already, in the year 636, sent *Oloppon* to China, to preach the gospel there; that the Emperor, *Tai-sum-wen*, had approved of this step, and had issued an edict, ordering that it should be preached all over China; that in the royal town of *Iuinfan*, a church had been built; that

of relating many things concerning the Nestorian priests, their bigamy, ignorance, avarice, simony, drunkenness, &c. so that the morals and conduct of the Moguls and *Tuinians* *, though they are idolaters, are far more regular and exemplary than those found amongst these Christians.

Having quitted the town of *Kailac*, they came the third day after to the great sea or lake, which appeared to be as boisterous as the ocean itself; in the middle of it was a large island. The water was rather brackish, though potable. On the other side, between high mountains, was a large valley, and to the South-east another great lake or sea, connected with the first by a river **. The wind all the time was very violent, inasmuch that they were in danger of being blown into the sea. At the farther end of the vale there are seen, to the northward, mountains quite covered with snow. Having gone through these mountains, and through a dreadful pass, between rocks, they at last came to the country of the *Naymans*, who had formerly been subject to Prester John. They continued their route to

that A. D. 651. the Christian religion was known in all the provinces of China; that in 699 and 713 the *Bonzes* had raised a persecution against the Christians; that A. D. 747 another priest, named *Kiebo*, went thither from *Tatfis* (Persia) and that in 757, the Emperor *So-kum-wen-mi*, had built more churches, and his successors had continued to protect the Christian religion, and that in commemoration of all these events, this stone had been erected A. D. 782, in the second year of the reign of the Emperor *Tam*, in the time of the Patriarch or Catholicus *Hananjesus*. This stone exhibits also an abstract of the whole Christian doctrine. The person that erected this stone styles himself a Choir-Bishop of *Kumdan* (Nankin) the capital of the eastern empire. It is probable, that there resided likewise a Bishop at *Singan-fu*; so that the account given here by Ruybroeck, every way establishes and confirms the authenticity of this remarkable monument, which has been called in question by many even of our modern literati.

* The Oriental Christians give to *Mani*, or *Manes*, the name of *Thenaoui*, and to his sect that of *Al-Thenaonib*, which word signifies the doctrine of the two Principles. Vid. *Herbelot. Bibliothèque Orientale*. The *Tuinians* of Ruybroeck are therefore no other than *Manicheans*.

** The above-mentioned second sea, or lake, situated to the south-east of the lake *Palkaff*, or *Balkasch*, is likewise to be found in the great general map of the Russian empire, published by the Academy of Sciences in 1776; together with another lake; of these, the second and third lakes are joined to each other by means of a river, and it is possible that the second and first also, agreeably to what Ruybroeck asserts above, may be united in the same manner.

the

the North, and after travelling some time, entered a large plain, which at a distance looked like a sea, for there were neither hills nor mountains to be seen, and the next day they came to the court of the great Khan *. But the tract of country which they had now passed over in five days, would, had they been guided by their landlord, have taken them up a whole fortnight, for he had proposed to take them round about by *Onam* and *Cherule* **, the first districts in the possession of *Zinghis-Khan*; but their conductor prevented this scheme being put in execution.

Mangbu Khan, followed by his camp, went twice to the southward, and afterwards began to turn back again to the northward, that is to say, to *Karakarum*. From this first camp of the Khan, to *Kathay*, it is about twenty days journey to the south-west, and from thence directly East, is the real country of the Moguls, where (at the distance of about ten days journey) *Zingis Khan's* court-camp, or head-quarters, used to be, viz. in *Onan* and *Cherule*, or on the banks of the *Onon* and *Cherlon*. In these countries there are no towns. Towards the North too, there are neither towns nor villages, but only poor shepherds called *Kerkis* (or *Kirgises*). There are also the *Orangey* or *Orengay*, who wear small smooth bones on their feet, on which they run with such swiftness over the ice and snow, that they can even overtake the game they are in pursuit of. There are in the North yet more nations, who are poor and of no account, and who live in ancient Hungary, as far as to the *Pascatirs*.

* The residence of the Great Khan was not far from *Karakorum*, and *M. Dornick* places it on the river *Onghin*. But we have already observed, that *Karakorum* must be looked for on the east side of the river *Orchen*, at the entrance of a large plain, which at present separates the Russian territories from those of the Chinese within the great wall. On the banks of the *Orchen* are the ruins of a place called *Erdesi-qibao*. This signifies the noble King, and probably the word *Balga*, or *Balgusien*, is for brevity's sake omitted. This town of the noble King is *Karakorum*.

** These countries of *Onam* and *Cherule*, are the counties lying along-side of the rivers *Onon* and *Cherlon*, where *Zinghis Khan* was born, and which were the first over which he bore the sovereign sway.

Ruybroeck having now had several audiences of the Emperor, and having been there for many months, was at last dismissed with handsome presents. He was two months and six days travelling from *Karakorum* to the *Wolga*, where he met with *Batu*; with him he travelled about for the space of a month. At last, in the middle of October, they began to go to the southward along the *Wolga* to *Sarey*; here the *Wolga* divides into three different branches, each of which is twice as wide as the river *Nile* is near *Damiate*. Lower down, the river divides into four other smaller branches. On the banks of the middle one, is the town of *Samerkent**, which has no walls, and whenever the river overflows, is entirely surrounded with water like an island. The Tartars had besieged this place, which is inhabited by Alanians and Mahometans, for eight years, before they could take it. The Tartars never went farther to the southward than this place in winter. In these parts there is pasture, herbage, and cattle in abundance, and a great quantity of reeds, in which the Tartars hide themselves in winter till the ice thaws again.

After this Ruybroeck travelled through the above-mentioned uncultivated desert, in which sometimes there was no water to be met with till he came to the mountains inhabited by the Alanians, who make head against the Tartars. It is on this account that the Tartars are obliged to send every tenth man hither, under the command of *Sartag*, in order to check the depredations of these people. At the end of the plain which lies between the Moguls and these Alanians,

* The town of *Sarey* seems to have been built not far from the modern *Zaritsin*, on the eastern branch of the *Wolga*, or the *Atchaba*, at no great distance from *Zarewped*, where many traces are still to be met with of the former existence of a large town. But the town of *Samerkent* is a place entirely unknown. Nevertheless it seems as if the spot where this town had been, and where the *Wolga* begins to divide into several branches, was not far from *Abrachan* (which formerly was called *Hadjchi Aidar Khan*); for there are also on both sides of the *Wolga* ruins of some towns existing, which ruins have been chiefly used for the purpose of making saltpetre.

is the pass called the *Iron Gate*. This part of the country is inhabited by Mahometans, called *Lefghi*, who also defend themselves against the Tartars. The Tartars, who escorted Ruysbroeck, wore breast-plates and cuirasses, which they had taken from the Alanians in war; these people excelling greatly in all kinds of iron-work. Near the Iron-gate is a fortification taken from these Alanians: here they already found vines, and got wine to drink. The next day they reached *Derbend*, or the Iron-Gate. The town occupies the whole plain lying between the Caspian sea and the high mountains. Its length from the mountains to the sea is half an hour's walk, but the breadth only about a stone's throw. At the highest part of it there is a strong castle. After two days journey, they met with another town called *Samaron* (*Schabran*, *Schabiran*) in which lived a great number of Jews. Two days after this they came to *Samach* (*Schamachie*). Here a level champain opened to their view, called *Moan* (or *Maban*; and at present *Mokban*). Through this runs the river *Kur*, whence the *Kurgians* (or *Georgians*) whose capital is *Tiphlis*, take their name. In this same campaign runs likewise the river *Araxes*, which, coming out of Armenia Major, takes its course to the south-westward. In this beautiful plain, to the westward of which lies *Georgia*, lived formerly the *Krosmians*, or *Korasmians*; (these are the ancestors of the present Turks, who laid the foundation of the *Osmanian* empire). At the entrance of the mountains is the town of *Ganghe*, which was their capital. As they went upwards along the *Araxes*, they were afterwards conducted to *Naxum* (or *Nakchivan*). After this Ruysbroeck went into the dominions of the Turkish Sultans, and travelled through *Sebae* (or *Siwas*) *Cesarea*, in Capadocia, and *Iconium*. From thence he reached *Kurch* (or *Kurke*) a haven in the King of Armenia's dominions; then *Layece* (or *El-Agas*) another harbour, from whence he crossed over to *Nikofia*, in the island of Cyprus; from thence he went to *Antiochia*, in Syria, and at last to *Tripoli*; from which place he sent an account of his whole journey in writing, to Lewis, King of France.

V. *Haitho*, or *Hatto*, was the son of *Liwon* or *Leon* II. nephew of *Haitho* I. king of Armenia Minor. At the decease of his father he would not accept of the crown, but left the empire to his brother *Thores*, or *Theodor*; and after having in all the troubles and wars in which they were involved, assisted his royal relations in action as well as in council, he took, at Episcopia in Cyprus, the order of the Præmonstratensian Monks, A. D. 1305, during the reign of his nephew *Leon* III. Subsequent to this he went to *Poitou* in France, and dictated in French to *Nicholas Salconi* the history of the events that had passed in the East, since the Moguls first made their appearance: this account *Salconi*, by order of the Pope, translated into Latin, A. D. 1307. His history consists, 1. in what written information he could find relative to the history of the Tartars; this narrative reaches from *Zinghis Khan*, down to *Mangu Khan*. 2. In the relation of such incidents and events as had either happened to *Haitho* I. king of Armenia himself, or which had come within the sphere of his own knowledge. He having even been, in the year 1254, together with his wife and child, at the court or head-quarters of *Mangu-Khan*, at which time he met with *Ruybroeck*, who was then on his return home, and had some conversation with him. These facts *Haitho* related to his children, and grand-children, and ordered them to be taken down in writing. 3. The Monk *Haitho* knew from his own proper experience all that had happened in Asia since the reign of *Abaka Khan*, (or rather *Abaga Khan*) from the year 1265 to 1283, and might justly have said, *quorum pars magna fui*.

Haitho's Oriental History contains, besides the historical part, a geographical one likewise, of which I shall briefly mention those particulars only which relate to the northern parts of Asia.

The Empire of *Kathay* is one of the most extensive, opulent; and populous empires of the universe; it is entirely situated along the sea coast. The inhabitants believe themselves to be the only people on earth that have two eyes; to the Latins they allow one, and

to all other nations none at all; they have small eyes and no beards. Their money consists of square pieces of paper, stamped with the king's seal. To the West this Empire is bounded by the Empire of *Tarsæ*, to the North by the desert of *Belgian*, and to the South are innumerable islands in the sea. They are skilled in works of ingenuity and art, but are very timorous. From these traits one immediately recognizes the Empire of China.

The Empire of *Tarsæ* has three provinces, the sovereign rulers of which call themselves kings; the inhabitants are called *Jogur*, (*Jugur*, *Uigur*). Ten tribes of them are Christians, the rest are Heathens. They abstain from meat and wine, and eat nothing that has ever had life in it. They raise a great quantity of corn, but no wine. Their towns are very pleasant, and contain a great number of temples in which idols are worshipped. They are not inclined to war, have their own peculiar manner of writing, which, indeed, is adopted by all the neighbouring nations, and they learn all arts and sciences with great facility.

To the East this Empire is bounded by *Katbay*, to the West by *Turkestan*, to the North by a certain desert, and to the South by a very rich province situated between *India* and *Katbay*, called *Sym* (or rather *Pcim*), and in which diamonds are to be found.—By what is here said, it appears that *Haitbo* is describing in this place the country of *Uigur*, in conjunction with that of *Gete*; but how it comes to be called *Tarsæ*, I really do not know.

The Empire of *Turkestan* is bounded on the East by the Empire of *Tarsæ*, and to the West by *Khorasmin*; to the South it extends as far as to the desert which lies just in the front of *India*. There are but few good towns in it; the large plains afford good pasturage for the cattle, consequently the inhabitants are almost all of them graziers and shepherds, and their dwelling is in tents and huts which are capable of being transported at pleasure. Their capital is *Ocerra* (or *Otrar*). The inhabitants raise but a small quantity of corn, and no wine.

wine; their drink is beer and milk, and their food rice, millet, and meat. They are known by the name of Turks, are of the Mahometan religion, and such of them as live in the towns, make use of the Arabian letters.

The Empire of *Kborasmin* (or *Kbuarefm*) is populous, fertile, and pleasant; in it they raise a great quantity of corn, but little wine; it contains many good and strong towns; the capital of it is *Korasma* (or rather *Korkang*). This Empire borders on a desert of a hundred days journey in extent; to the West is the Caspian sea; to the North the Empire of *Kumania*; to the South (here we should read East), the Empire of *Turkestan*. The inhabitants are Heathens without either letters or laws. The *Soldinians* (or *Sogdians*) are the most intrepid of warriors, have a peculiar language of their own, use the Greek characters in writing, follow the usages and rites of the Greek Church, and are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch.

The capital of the empire of *Kbuarefm*, is, according to Prince *Ulug Beg*, the city of *Korkang*, neither has any author ever mentioned a place called *Kborasme*. Haitho having said before, that *Turkestan* was bounded on the west by *Kborasmia*, it is clear, that here we must read *east* instead of *south*. The *Soldini*, mentioned above, who were Christians of the Greek Church, are entirely unknown.

The empire of *Kumania* is undoubtedly of vast extent, but, on account of the inclemency of the climate, thinly inhabited. In winter the cold is so intense in some parts, that neither man nor beast can remain there; and in others, the extreme heats and swarms of flies in summer are equally insupportable. *Kumania* is quite level and flat, and without any wood, except some orchards near the towns. The inhabitants live in tents, and their fuel is the dung of their cattle. It is bounded on the east towards *Korasmia* by a desert; to the west is the great sea, viz. the Black Sea, and the sea of *Tenne* (*Tanna*, or *Azof*); to the north, it is bounded by the empire of *Kassia* (*Kiow*); and to the

South it extends to a large river called *Etile* (i. e. the *Wolga*) which passes by the capital. This river is frozen over every year, and men and beasts walk on it as on dry land; along the banks of this river there are small trees; on the other side of the river there are people, who, though they are not Kumanians, yet are subject to the Khan. Some live also towards the high mountains *Cocas* (i. e. Caucasus). In the mountains are white kites. This range of mountains runs between the two seas; to the west is the great (i. e. the Black) Sea; and to the east, the Caspian Sea, which has no connection with the ocean, but is like a lake, though it is called a sea on account of its size, it being the largest lake in the universe. It divides Asia into two parts; that part towards the east is called *Lower Asia*, and the western part, *Great Asia*: this lake contains a great quantity of good fish. In the Caspian mountains there are found buffaloes, and many other wild beasts. In this sea there are also many islands on which the birds build their nests, and particularly the falcon, commonly known by the name of *Pegrim* (*Faucon Pelerin*, the Pilgrim-Falcon) and *Esmetliones* (or *Esmertliones*, Merlins) and *Bonsacci* (or the *Bondrée* and *Sacre*, the Honey Buzzard, and the Sacre) and many other birds not to be found in any other part of the world. The largest town of the empire of *Cumania*, is *Sara* (or *Saray*). This town was large and of great renown; but it has been ravaged and almost entirely destroyed by the Tartars, who took it by storm. It is obvious, that *Haitbo* describes here that part of the empire of the Moguls, which was subject to *Batu Khan*. The Black-Sea he calls the Great Sea, because it is connected with the Mediterranean and the ocean; and the sea *de Tenue*, is the sea of *Tanna*, or of *Azof*, for so the town at the end of the *Don* was called at different times. The empire of *Kaffia* cannot well be supposed to be any other place than *Kiow*, or *Kiavia*, the capital of the Russian empire and residence of the Grand Duke.

The

The reading, too, which we have proposed with respect to the names of the birds, is probably the best.

As worthy of notice as are the particulars above-mentioned, which are the contents of the first five Chapters, the sixteenth Chapter is no less so, on account of some geographical information it contains respecting the ancient seats of the Tartars (i. e. the Moguls).

Beyond the large mountain of *Belgian*, or *Bilkhan*, the Tartars lived at first, without religion and without the use of letters. Their chief occupation consisted in tending their flocks; and so far were they from being of a warlike disposition, that they readily paid tribute to any one that demanded it. All the tribes of the Tartar race were known by the name of *Mogles*. They increased to that degree, as to compose seven capital independent nations. The first was called *Tatar*, after a province of the same name, in which they at first had lived; the second was called *Tangot* (i. e. Tangut); the third, *Kunat*; the fourth, *Jalair* (or *Tbalair*); the fifth, *Sonich*; the sixth, *Mongbi*; and the seventh, *Tabeth*. The Chiefs of these nations, prompted by a vision, and by a command from God, had chosen *Changie* (i. e. Zinghis) for their sovereign Lord and Ruler. After this we are told, how he came through the mountains, when the sea withdrew nine feet, and made a way for him where there was none before. This seems to be the same history with that of *Irgone Kon*, which is also related by *Abulgafi*. The mountain *Belgian*, can hardly be looked for any where else than in the environs of lake *Balchas* in the country of *Organum*, or *Irganekon*. According to the *Nighiarifan*, a collection of Oriental History, the Turkomanni likewise came from a place called *Belgian*, or *Bilkhan*.

VI. *Marco Polo*, a noble Venetian, whose father, *Nicolo Polo*, had before been in the east with his brother *Mattheo Polo*, on commercial affairs, in 1260, and had returned with him in 1269, was by his father taken along with them on this voyage A. D. 1271, when he was but 11 years old. *Marco* learned at the court of *Kublai Khan* to speak and

write

write four languages which were in use in the country; and the Emperor made use of him in weighty matters, and on embassies in which it took him up a journey of six months to reach the place of his destination. He was in the service of the Emperor 17 years, and at last, with his father and uncle, returned in the year 1295, safe to Venice. It is presumed he wrote his remarks in Latin, and in prison, as on his return he was taken prisoner by the Genoese, who were at that time at war with the Venetians. He was a man of great sense, probity, and piety, whose domestics unanimously gave him a good character, and consequently his narrative is every way deserving of our confidence. His father, *Nicolo*, who was the honestest man in the whole country, constantly certified the truth of the narrative contained in his son's book; and his uncle *Mattheo*, who was a pious as well as very wise man, even on his death-bed told his Confessor, that these relations were true in every respect. A Monk translated his book into the Italian language, and from the Italian it was again translated by another Monk into Latin. These multiplied translations are the cause of the names of the countries and towns appearing so much disfigured as they do. It is therefore to be wished, that some man of great erudition would compare these various translations with the manuscript to be found in the library of Wolfenbuttel, and publish a new and correct edition of this useful book, which is of the greatest importance with respect to the geography of the middle ages. This book has moreover been translated into a great many modern languages, e. g. into German, French, Dutch, and Portuguese*. We shall extract from it some very short observations only relative to the north.

A. D. 1260, the two brothers having embarked at Venice, with a cargo consisting of a great many valuable articles of commerce, went by

* There was likewise a translation published in English, in 1579, under the title of *The most noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus*. London, 8vo.

the way of the Mediterranean, and so through the Dardanelles to Constantinople. After a stay of a few days, they sailed across the great sea, *Mar Maggiore* (i. e. the Black-Sea) to a harbour called *Soldadia* (or *Sudak*). From whence they went by land to the residence of a great Tartarian Lord, named *Barcha* (properly *Bereke Khan*, who reigned from 1256 to 1266) who lived in the towns of *Bolgara* and *Affara**. He received them very kindly, and they made him considerable presents in jewels, for which he made them returns by other presents of double the value. Having remained there for the space of a year, they were desirous of returning to Venice; but a war breaking out suddenly between *Alau* (*Holaghu*, probably the Iranian, or Persian Khan, *Holaghu Khan*, to whom the whole of Persia belonged quite to Syria) and *Barcha*; the armies approached each other, and the battle turned out in favour of *Holaghu*. The roads were now unsafe; so that they could not return by the same road as they came, and they were advised to travel by a large circuit round about the Empire of Berekekhan; following this counsel they came to a town called *Ukakab* (alias *Guthakba*, *Grikkata*, *Kborkang*, *Urgbenz*), and a little farther on they crossed the *Tigris* (or *Gihon*), one of the four rivers of Paradise; after this they travelled for the space of seventeen days in a desert, in which they saw neither town, castle, nor village, but only a few Tartars living in huts. Having left the desert, they came to a very good town called *Bokbara* (Bochara), in the province of *Bokbara* in Persia, the sovereign of which was called *Barack*; (Berrak Khan). Here they stayed for three whole years, being unable to advance any farther on account of the great war that subsisted between the Tartars.

* *Bolgara* is without doubt *Bolgari*, the capital of Bulgaria, a town, which according to monuments still extant, actually existed from 1161 to 1578, and was inhabited; so that it is very possible, that *Bereke Khan* may have sometimes resided there. But *Affara* is the town of *Al-Seray*, which was new built by *Baatu Khan* on the *Achtuba*, a branch of the Wolga.

At this time there came from *Holagbu* to *Bokbara*, a man of great talents and understanding, who was going as ambassador to the great *Kublai-Khan*. Meeting with these brothers, who had now become well acquainted with the Tartarian tongue, and having conversed with them for many days, he persuaded them to take a trip with him to the great king of Tartary, and promised them great honors and advantages. They, on their parts, being perfectly aware that it was impossible for them to return home without imminent danger, went along with the ambassador, together with a number of Christian servants which they had brought with them from Venice, shaping their course at first towards the North-east. It being winter, they were a whole year on the road, and they were often obliged to wait on account of the snow, or of the waters having overflowed the roads, till the snow was melted, and the waters had retired. At length they arrived at the residence of the great Khan *Kublai*, who gave orders for them to be brought before him, received them very graciously, and treated them with great distinction; he also interrogated them much concerning the Roman Emperor, the Kings and Princes of Europe, their different governments, their military force, their jurisprudence, the manners and customs of the different nations, their religion, and finally, concerning the Pope; to all which queries they made proper and suitable replies. After some time, *Kublai-Khan* called them before him, and told them, that he would send them as ambassadors to the Pope at Rome, with letters to desire his holiness to let him have 100 wise and judicious men, well skilled in the Christian doctrine. He ordered a man of distinction, named *Chogatal* (*Gogaka, Gogatal, Cogatal*) to accompany them, and gave them these letters, as also a golden table, on which the imperial seal was engraved, and in virtue of which, the bearer or bearers thereof are intitled (free of all expence) to relay horses, provisions, convoy, and any thing else they may desire or stand in need of.

Having

Having travelled on for the space of twenty days, the ambassador *Cbogat* fell sick; they therefore left him behind, and went on without him. Their golden table procured them every where the best reception. The snow, the ice, and the overflowing rivers, retarded them, so as to occasion them to be three whole years on this journey: at length they arrived in an Armenian harbour, called *la Giazza* (otherwise *Glaza*, *Galza*, and more properly still, *al Ajassa*), and went immediately to *Acre* (or *Ancona*, properly *Akko*), where they were informed of the death of Pope *Clement IV.* by the Pope's Legate, *Theobald Viscount of Placenzia*. Upon this they took shipping, and going by the way of Negroponte, arrived at Venice among their relations and friends, where they resolved to stay till the election of a new Pope. Here *Nicolo Polo* found, that his wife, whom he had left big with child, was dead; but *Marco*, the son he had by her, was alive, and nine years old*. Having waited for the election of a Pope two years in vain,

* The dates in Andrew Muller's edition are false throughout; those however in the Italian translation, printed in *Ramusio's* Collection, are more accurate. They set out A. D. 1260, and stayed one year with *Bereke Khan*, 1261. Then they stayed three years in *Bokhara*, viz. till 1264. One year they spent on the road to Kublaikhan, which brings it to 1265. They were three years in returning; but then they spent some time with the Khan, for the purpose of conversing with him, and receiving their dispatches, for which we may reckon at least one year. So that it amounts to four years in all, and consequently they did not return till the year 1269, and *Marco*, the son of *Nicolo*, could be but nine years old, though *Ramusio* has made him 19, and all the others 15. But the chronology of the other Princes and Kings mentioned in this book do not allow us to adopt these dates of *Ramusio* and Andrew Muller. For first, it is certain, that Kublai-Khan was still alive, though advanced in years, when they took their departure: and they were on their way home, when they first received the news of his death. They were informed of his death, on their way home. Now Kublai-Khan reigned from 1259 to 1294, and died at the age of 80 years. But if *Nicolo* and *Mattheo* had set out on their first journey in 1250, they would have arrived there in 1255, before Kublai-Khan had ascended the throne; they must therefore have set out on their first journey in 1260, and have come back in 1269, soon after the death of Pope *Clement IV.* Farther, they must have set out again in 1271, for at that time Pope *Gregory X.* was elected, from whom they had letters to take to Kublai-Khan. Their first journey happened at the time that Baldwin II. who reigned from 1234 to 1261, was still Emperor of Byzantium. The Khan of Khiptschak was Bereke, who reigned from 1256 to 1266, so that they

vain, they set out with young *Marco Polo*, who was now 11 years of age, for *Acre*. The Legate gave them letters for *Kublai Khan*, and they set out for the harbour of *Giazza*. In the mean while news arrived from Italy, that this same Legate had been elected Pope, on which occasion he took the name of *Gregory X*. He immediately dispatched messengers with letters to the King of Armenia, to give him notice of his election, and to request, that in case the Ambassador to the Khan had not yet left his territories, they should return. These letters found the *Poli* still in Armenia; they returned therefore in a galley to Akko, where the Pope gave them his letters to the Khan, besides a great many presents, and sent along with them two learned Monks Predicant, viz. Friar *Nicholas*, of *Vicenza*, and Friar *William*, of *Tripoli*. Immediately upon this they returned by sea to *al Ajassa*, and set out on their journey from that place by land to Armenia. There they learned, that the Sultan of Babylon (in Egypt or of *Kabirab*) (*Bibars*) *el Bendokdari* (or *Benhokdare*) had made an incursion with a great army into Armenia, where he committed the most cruel ravages. This news alarmed the two Monks to such a degree, that they remained with the Grand-master of the Knights-Templars, and afterwards likewise returned with him; but the three *Poli* proceeded boldly through many dangers, and, by perseverance and labour, got over every difficulty; so that at last, in the space of three years and a half, they arrived at the Khan's, who, while they were still at the distance of 40 days journey from him, sent to meet them, and took care that at every place they came to,

they could not have commenced their travels for the first time before 1256. Nay they could not well have set out on their journey before 1258, for, *Holaghu*, who was at war with *Bereke Khan*, did not begin his reign before 1258, and he reigned till the year 1265. It is evident, therefore, that the first time, they could not have staid out above 11 years, and consequently *Marco*, the son of *Nicolo*, could not at the time of his father's return be more than 11 years old, nor less than 9; which latter conjecture is very probable.

they

they should be provided with every thing necessary, till at length they arrived safe at his court. *Kublai Khan* received them with great kindness, and with many marks of distinction, in the midst of all his illustrious Barons (*Taischis*, *Nojones*, and *Saiffans*). They were asked concerning the health of the Pope; when they gave a circumstantial account to the Emperor of every object of his enquiry, as well as of what had befallen them in their journey. The Khan then enquired, who Marco was? and being informed, that he was the son of *Nicolo*, he received him very graciously, and had him immediately registered among the most distinguished of his officers. In consequence of this, Marco was very much respected by every one at Court, and not only in a short time acquired the manners of the Tartars, but learned likewise four different languages, each of which he was able to read and write. On this account the Khan, willing to make a trial of his capacity for business, dispatched him on an affair of importance relative to the empire, to a town called *Karazan*, the journey to which place took him up six intire months. He executed the whole business with judgment and discretion, and perfectly to the satisfaction of the Khan; and knowing, that the Khan was very fond of hearing of uncommon phenomena, strange occurrences, and other novelties, and that he was very desirous of getting information respecting the manners and customs of the people, he made minute enquiries every where after whatever was remarkable, and taking it down in writing, drew up an account of the whole, which he presented to the Khan. By this means he got so much into the Khan's good graces, that in the twenty-six years he staid with the Khan, the latter was continually sending him through all his kingdoms, and made use of him as his ambassador. Now it is principally from this cause, that this same Marco saw and heard so many new things relative to the East, of

all which he has given a description in the books he has written on this subject. After the two brothers, Nicolo, and Mattheo, as also the young man Marco Polo, had lived many years at the court of the Khan, and had amassed great quantities of jewels and gold; considering that the Khan grew old, and that after his decease it might have become difficult for him to return home, Nicolo one day begged of the Khan to permit him and his family to set out on their travels homeward. At this, however, the Khan was very much hurt, and offered them additional riches and honours, but refused their request. Just at this time died *Bolgana*, the consort of king *Argon* in the East Indies; who, on her death-bed, had desired *Argon*, after her decease, to chuse a wife from amongst her relations in Kathay, where the great Khan reigned. Accordingly, he sent three ambassadors to *Kublai Khan*, to whom the Khan granted *Kogatin* (Gogatin, Gogonyn), one of his near female relations; upon this the ambassadors set out with her, but returned after having been eight months on the road, the passage all the way to the East Indies being obstructed by a war which had just broke out. In the mean time Marco Polo had been by sea to India, and had just returned from his voyage. The ambassadors being now apprised of the conveniency and safety of a passage by sea, by the persuasions of the Poli, requested of the Khan to send them by sea to India, and to grant them the Poli, as being good and experienced seamen, for their conductors, and to permit these latter to return home. However unpleasing this request was to the Khan, he did not, however, refuse; when, together with the queen and the ambassadors, they set sail with 14 four-mast ships, four or five of which carried from 250 to 260 persons. After losing a great many men, they passed by the Island of Java, and at length arrived in the country of Argon. He, they found, was dead, but one *Cbiacato* (Akata), governed in the name of young *Kasan*,

the son of Argon, a minor, to whom Chiacato had also destined the princess *Gogatin* for a consort; he, however, was at that time with the army making a campaign on the frontiers of Persia. *Chiacato*, by the recommendation and at the desire of Kublai Khan, furnished the Poli with 200 horses and money for their journey, and, after a tedious journey by land, they at length reached *Trebi-sande* (i. e. Trebizond) from whence they proceeded by the way of *Constantinople* and *Negroponte* to Venice, where they arrived safe, A. D. 1295. On their way they learned the death of *Kublai Khan*, and deemed themselves very happy in getting to their native country, after having surmounted so many difficulties, and having been absent from it in the east, for the space of 26 years (viz. from 1269 to 1295.)

Marco Polo having described the southern provinces belonging to Persia, comes at length to the unknown northern regions, and setting out from the country of the *Affassines* in *Dilem*, and from a town belonging to them called *Mulete* (or *Alamut*) not far from *Kafvin*, arrives at the town of *Sopurgan* (Esferain) and immediately after, at *Balash* (Balkh) a city of great celebrity, though its marble palaces are now destroyed by the Tartars. At two days journey from thence to the east we find the castle of *Tbakan* (Thalkan) in the neighbourhood of which a great quantity of corn is grown. But to the south of it there are mountains of salt, which is fetched from them to the distance of 30 days journey. The inhabitants, though Mahometans, make a common practice of drinking wine, which indeed they have perfectly mature, of a very full body, and excellent in its kind. As to other particulars, they are of an extremely mischievous and wicked disposition; they are, however, good huntsmen, and their cloaths are made of the skins of the beasts which they kill.

At the distance of three days journey farther on, is the town of *Scaffem* (Scaffé, al-Schafsch); through the town runs a very large stream (the Sirr——Daria, or Dfaihum). In this country there are
many

many porcupines. The inhabitants have a language of their own. At the distance of three days journey more, is the province of *Balaxiam* (Balascia, Balafagan), the inhabitants of which are Mahometans, and speak a language peculiar to themselves: the extent of the country is about twelve days journey. In the mountains there are found beautiful stones of great value, called *Balaffè*, particularly in the mountain of *Sicinam*, where the king alone has the privilege of digging. There are also mountains with veins of *Lapis Lazuli*, which is reckoned the finest in the world; as also veins of silver, copper, and lead in great quantity; but the weather there is intensely cold. In this country they have very swift horses, whose hoofs are so hard that they want no shoeing. In the mountains are caught the Sacre falcon (*Falco Sacer*); the Lannar (*Falco lanarius cinereus Briss.*) the Goshawk (*Falco astur Briss.*), and the Sparrow-hawk (*Falconifus*), which are all, in their kind, very excellent, and, by the inhabitants, who are all very keen sportsmen, are made use of for the chase. They grow much wheat and Indian corn; they have no olive oil, but make this article of food of nuts and the seeds of the Sefamum, which of all oils is the most palatable. The great number of narrow passes and strong holds they have in this country render the inhabitants perfectly secure against any invasion from an enemy. The air on the mountains is so salubrious, that the sick almost always recover their health on taking a journey to them, as indeed Marco Polo experienced in his own case. On these mountains there are flocks of from 400 to 600 wild sheep, of which but few are to be caught. The women of rank make themselves a dress of muslin, containing from 60 to 80, or even 100 ells, and, (in order that they may appear the more bulky below the waist,) crumpled up from the waist downwards, like trousers, and she who appears the biggest, is considered by the men as the greatest beauty.

At

At the distance of about 10 days journey is the province of *Bafcia*, (alias *Vafch*, on the river *Vafch*, which falls into the *Gihon*). The inhabitants are Idolaters, and very much addicted to sorcery and witchcraft; live upon flesh and rice, and have a language of their own. They are of a very tawny complexion, and are accounted very malicious, faithless, and cruel. They wear golden ear-rings set with diamonds and pearls.

The province of *Chefmur* (*Khessimur*, *Khafchimir*) is at about seven days journey from *Bafcia*. The inhabitants have a language of their own, and are of a brown complexion; nevertheless, the women are very handsome. Their principal food is flesh and rice. Their country is covered with towns and castles, and being surrounded by deserts and mountains, they have nothing to fear from any enemy. Their king is not tributary to any one. There are many and large bodies of hermits among them, who live in a very frugal and abstemious manner, and are in great esteem among the people. The natives never shed blood, nor kill any animal; therefore, they make use of the Mahometans for slaughtering the beasts of which they eat the flesh. Corals are held in great esteem among them, and sell at a very high price.

From *Balaxiam* one comes to a number of castles and dwellings on the banks of a river, and at length into the province called *Vochan* (alias *Vocham* or *Vakhan*, on the river *Vafch*). The inhabitants are honest and valiant, and have a language of their own, but follow the law of Mahomet. Their Lord is subject to the King of *Balaxiam*. In going out of this province to the eastward, one travels for three days continually upon the ascent, till at last one comes to so elevated a spot, that one is apt to take it for the highest in the whole world. On this same spot, between two mountains, one finds a large lake, from whence a very beautiful river flows through a plain, containing the best and richest pastures in the world, for if cattle arrive there ever so lean, they return home in 10 days quite

fat and in good condition. In this district, too, there are a great number of wild beasts, and particularly of very large wild sheep, some of which have horns of the length of six palms, or about 18 inches; and others of two or three palms at least: of these the shepherds make small porringers, and large dishes for their victuals; and even the folds in which they keep their flocks are made of these horns. The numberless wolves that are in these parts devour such immense quantities of these goats, or sheep, that their horns and skeletons are to be found piled up in heaps, in order to point out the way in the snow*. One travels for the space of 12 whole days on this plain, which is called *Pamer*. Consequently one must carry all one's provisions along with one. On account of the great height of the mountains, there are no birds to be seen here, and even the fires do not burn so clear, by reason of the cold, as it does in other places, so that one can hardly dress any victuals by it**. Having accomplished this 12 days journey, one must travel 40 days longer to the eastward, and that continually over mountains and through vallies, crossing many rivers, and passing through desarts, in which there are neither dwellings nor even a blade of grass; so that one must carry all the provisions one stands in need of along with one;

* It is remarkable, that so many centuries ago Marco Polo has taken notice of the extraordinary height of these inland Asiatic campaigns, and at the same time made accurate and just observations on these wild sheep, which by the ancient nations were called *Musmones*, and by the French and Italians are termed *Mouflons*, *Muffloni*, and of which the horns have been also described by modern writers to be so large, that the *Korfaks*, or small foxes of the desert, can hide themselves in them.

** This truth, discovered by M. *De Luc*, one of the most attentive natural Philosophers of the present age, on the mountains of Savoy and Switzerland, viz. that on the highest mountains fire burns more sluggishly, and the effects it produces are more inconsiderable than at the level of the sea, we find here very carefully noticed by Marco Polo, above 500 years ago. Vid. *J. A. de Luc, Recherches sur les modifications de l'atmosphère. No. 903, 919.*

and

and this country is called *Belors* (alias Belor, or Belur). The summits of these mountains are inhabited by an idolatrous, savage, and cruel race of men, who live merely by hunting, and are cloathed in the skins of beasts.

From thence one comes to the kingdom of *Casgar* (alias Chascar, Cassar, Kaschgar, and Haficar) which at present belongs to the great Khan, and is five days journey in length. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and get their livelihood by commerce and manufactures, and particularly by the working of cotton. The face of the country is covered with towns and castles: they have fine gardens and lands, which produce grapes for making wine, and other fruits in abundance. They cultivate cotton, flax, and hemp, in great quantities; and the land yields plentifully all the necessaries of life. From this province numbers of traders go to all parts of the globe; but they are so extremely covetous, that they do not even allow themselves to eat; and much less to drink any thing that is good. Besides the Mahometans, there live also some Nestorians in these parts, who have a public church here, in which they worship the Deity after their own manner.

Samarchan (or Samarkand) is an excellent town and a plain, which produces abundance of all kind of fruits that man can possibly wish for. The inhabitants are part of them Christians and part of them Mahometans, and are subject to a nephew of the great Khan.

From hence, in five days journey, one comes to the province of *Carchan* (alias Carcham, Carcam, Hiarkand, Jarkim, Jerket, Jerken, and Urkend). The inhabitants are of the Mahometan persuasion, and there are also some Nestorian Christians here; but all are subject to the nephew of the great Khan. They have all the necessaries of life in great plenty, but chiefly cotton. The inhabitants are good artizans, and have, the greatest part of them, thick legs, and goitres or tumors in their necks, which proceed from the quality of the water which they drink.

Going from hence to the eastwards one comes to the province of *Cotan* (otherwise Cotam, Hotum, Khoten, and Khotan), which is subject to the nephew of the great Khan. This country is eight days journey in length, and is full of towns and castles. The inhabitants are Mahometans. The country abounds in all the necessaries of life; here they cultivate cotton, flax, hemp, wheat, wines, and other productions of the vegetable kingdom. The inhabitants live by trade and manufactures, and are unfit for war.

Pursuing this track, one comes to the province called *Peym* (Peim, or Peym), which contains many towns and castles. Through the capital of the same name there runs a river, in which many precious stones are to be found, viz. Chalcedonians and Jasper. In this province are to be had all necessaries of life, and a great quantity of silk is produced. The inhabitants are Mahometans, and immediately subject to the great Khan; they live by trade and manufactures. In this country they have a very particular custom, which is, that if a man goes on a journey, and stays away from his wife above twenty days, she may, if she pleases, marry another man, and when the man returns, he may, in like manner, marry another woman. All these last mentioned countries, viz. *Kaschggar*, *Jerkin*, *Khoten*, *Peym*, and *Sartam*, to the town called *Lap*, are reckoned among the frontiers of Great Turkey.

The province called *Ciarcian* (Ciartiam, Sartem), was formerly very beautiful and fertile, but it has since been destroyed by the Tartars. The inhabitants are Mahometans. In this country there are a great number of castles and towns, the chief of which is likewise called *Ciarcian*. There are many rivers containing precious stones, chiefly Chalcedonians and Jasper, which are carried for sale to *Ouchab* (Kathay), and of which, by reason of the great quantity there is of them, they make great profit. From *Peym* to the end of this province there are many bitter and salt waters in the strata of sand which are to be met with every where in these parts; but
fresh

fresh water fit for drinking is very rare. And if it happens that an army of Tartars, either friends or enemies, marches through ; if of the latter, they plunder the inhabitants of their goods ; and if friends, they kill their cattle and eat it up ; whence it happens, that the inhabitants, on perceiving the approach of an army, retire with their wives, children, and cattle, to the distance of several days journey into the sandy desert, near a spring of good water, where in that case they live. For it is to be observed, that after the wheat harvest, every one of the inhabitants hides his corn in caverns under the sand, unknown to any one but himself, as the place is immediately covered over with sand by the wind ; and they carry home at one time only just as much as will serve them for the space of a month. Going from *Ciarcian* backward, five days journey in the sand, one comes to nothing but bitter waters, except that at the entrance of the great desert, one meets with the town called *Lop*. From the town of *Lop* you enter immediately into the great desert. The inhabitants of *Lop* are Mahometans, and subjects of the great Khan. In this town, those that intend to travel through the desert, rest for many days, and prepare all that is necessary for the journey, and load many strong asses and camels with food, provisions, and merchandise. But if their provisions are spent before they are quite through the desert, they kill the asses and camels and eat them. They must lay in a stock of provisions sufficient to last a whole month, and if it does not, they eat the asses rather than the camels, because these latter can carry heavier burthens, and are satisfied with less food. During the whole thirty days the road goes through sandy plains, and over barren mountains, but at the end of each day's journey they meet with water, though not in sufficient quantity, but only for about 50 or 100 men : in three or four of these places the water is even bitter, but in all

the other nocturnal baiting-places, which are twenty-eight in number; the water is fresh. In the desert neither birds nor beasts are to be found, there being nothing for them to live upon. It is also very easy, in case one loiters behind, to lose one's company, and consequently perish miserably.

Having travelled through the desert in this manner for the space of thirty days, you come to a town called *Sachion* (*Schatfchen*, *Tschatfchen*, on the river *Sirgentfchi*, which runs into the *Polongbir*, and in the *Kara-nor*, or *Hara-nor*, or perhaps it should be *Schotscheu*, or *Sotscheu*, on the river *Ezina*, which discharges its waters into two lakes): this town is in the dominions of the great Khan, and in the province of *Tanguth*. In it there are some few Nestorian Christians, as also Mahometans, and finally, Idolaters, who have their own peculiar language. They do not live by commerce, but by agriculture, and the produce of their own country. They have many convents full of idols, which they worship with the greatest devotion; and if they beget a son, they recommend him to one of these idols, in honour of whom they feed a ram at home, which, at the expiration of the first year, they carry to the temple, together with the child, on the day which is consecrated to the above idol, and after killing the ram, boil the flesh of it, and set it before the idol, while they say their prayers, in which they recommend the son to the idol, and beg of him to keep their son in health; and they assert, that during this, the idol has extracted all the virtues and taste of the meat; upon this they take the meat home, and eat it in company of their friends and relations invited for that purpose, but the bones they preserve very carefully in a handsome vessel. The priests of the idol have for their share the head, the feet, the entrails, the skin, and part of the flesh. These Idolaters observe also some very singular customs in the burning of their dead; if the deceased was a man of rank, they go to the
astrologer,

astrologer, and tell him the year, day, and hour, on which the deceased person was born; the Sage then examines the signs, the planet, and the star under whose influence the defunct was born, and, according to these, determines the day and the hour on which he is to be burnt; and if the planet does not reign at that time, they keep the corpse for a week, or even for six months together; now being obliged to keep it in the house, they get a coffin made of boards three inches thick, very closely joined together, and painted over. In this they lay the corpse, together with many fragrant perfumes, camphire, and other spices; and, after filling up all the chinks with pitch and lime, cover the coffin with silk. During the whole time that they keep the corpse thus, a table is spread for it with bread, meat, and wine, and left standing for as long a time as it would take a living person to eat and drink his fill. Moreover the astrologer will sometimes deem it unlucky to carry the corpse through the door; when to please the planet, a hole must be broken through the wall, and the corpse carried out that way. Should any one take it in his head to object to all this, and refuse to comply, the ghost of the deceased would certainly be displeased at it, and do him a mischief. When the corpse is carried out of the town, they have little wooden houses built for it in the streets, in which they set it down and place victuals before it. The procession is accompanied with music. Whilst the body is burning, they paint on a paper, the figures of men and women, together with the representations of coins, horses, camels, and cloaths; and burn these together with the corpse, in the belief that the deceased will have an equal number of man-servants and maid-servants, money and cattle, at his disposal in the other world. The music must play during the whole ceremony of the incineration of the body.

Kamul (alias Chamul, Hamil, Hami, Khami, Came-xu) is a district belonging to the extensive province of *Tanguth*, and is subject to the Great Khan. It is situated between the above-mentioned great desert and another smaller one. The capital bears the same name as the district

district itself: it produces fruit and grain of all sorts, which serve for the maintenance of its inhabitants, as well as of the foreigners that travel through it. The inhabitants speak a language peculiar to themselves, and worship idols. These people seem to be born for nothing else but enjoyment; and, indeed, their chief occupation is music, singing, and dancing, and other amusements. If a traveller arrives in their country, and is desirous of taking up his lodging with any of them, they immediately lay the strictest injunctions on their wives, daughters, sisters, and other female relations, to be in every respect at the stranger's service; at the same time the husband leaves the house, and procures in the town whatever is requisite for the accommodation and kind reception of his guest; neither does he return to his house till the latter has left it. The women in the mean while obey the stranger as if he was their husband; and it must be confessed, that in general they possess no small share of vivacity and beauty. The prevailing opinion in this country is, that by shewing so much hospitality to the travellers, they render a very acceptable service to the Gods, and they attribute it entirely to this custom, that the Gods bestow on them a profusion of every worldly good, and a protection against all dangers, together with the increase of their families. When *Mangu Khan* sat on the throne, having heard of this indecent custom, he commanded that they should preserve and promote the chastity of their wives and daughters, and keep houses for the reception of strangers and travellers at the public expence. This mandate they punctually obeyed for the space of three years. But within this time the produce of their fields and gardens happening not to succeed, and having met likewise with other disasters in their domestic concerns, they sent ambassadors, most humbly to petition the Emperor for the repeal of his mandate. *Mangu Khan*, having heard their remonstrances, answered as follows: "I conceive it to be my duty to put a stop to this scandalous custom; but since you glory in your shame,

you may even bear it, and continue henceforth to make your wives perform their usual charitable offices to strangers and travellers." The messengers who carried back the repeal of the Imperial prohibition, were received with great rejoicings by the whole nation, and the ancient custom is still kept up there to this day: (that is, when Marco Polo was in that part of the world; for how matters stand there now, it is impossible to say).

Beyond the province of *Chamul* is the country called *Chinchintalas* (alias Chinchincalas, Sanghin-Talgin, Sankin-talai, Chitalas-Dalai) which to the north is bounded by the desert; it is 16 days journey in length, and belongs to the territories of the Great Khan, and has towns and boroughs in it. The inhabitants are some of them Nestorian Christians, though the number of these is small; some again are Mahometans, and the rest Idolaters. In this country is a mountain which yields steel-ore and *Andanicum* (otherwise audanicum) as also *Salamander* (i. e. asbestos) of which they make a kind of cloth which is indestructible by fire.

Leaving the province of *Chinchintalas* directly behind you, the road goes eastward (or rather southward) through an almost uncultivated country, for 13 days journey, to the province of *Suchur* * (alias Suckuir, Souck, or Suck, on the river Suck, which empties itself into

* The country described but very lately by *M. Pallas*, where the genuine rhubarb grows, and from whence it is carried by the merchants of Bucharia to the Russians at *Kjæbta*, is to the south-west of the lake *Kokonor*, not far from the town of *Sellin*, on the river *Selingol*, which discharges itself into the *Chattungol*, or, as the Chinese call it, *Hoangbo* (alias Choango) which is also called *Karamuren*. This whole tract is composed of high mountains, bare of wood, where the rhubarb grows out of chinks of the rocks. The roots that are fit for use shoot out stalks of an amazing thickness, and being dug up in April and May, are cleaned and hung up on the trees. The leaf we are told is round, and but slightly indented; consequently the *Rheum compactum*, or *undulatum*, must be the genuine rhubarb plant. This indication of the real native country of rhubarb induced me to look in these parts likewise for the town called *Suckuir*, or *Suckur*, which I easily discovered, together with the province of the same name, in the province and town of *Suck*.

the river *Pegu*, to the northward of Tibet, and to the south-eastward of Kokonor); this province has several towns and boroughs, the capital of which bears the name of the country. The inhabitants, a few Christians excepted, are idolaters, and subjects of the Great Khan. They are of a very tawny complexion, and live without commerce on the produce of the earth. The *Reubarbar* (Reobarbar, or Rhubarb) which grows on the mountains here in great abundance, is carried by the merchants all over the world. On these mountains, too, grows a poisonous plant, upon eating which, the cattle cast their hoofs. The cattle belonging to the natives know this plant, and carefully avoid it; it is therefore necessary, on a journey to these mountains, always to make use of the cattle of the country.

The city or town called *Kampiou* (Kampitiou, Kampiciou, Kantcheu, in the province of Schensi, on the Etziné Moren) is the capital of all *Tanguth*; it is elegant and very large. Part of the inhabitants are Nestorian Christians, and have three fine large churches; part of them are Mahometans, and the rest idolaters. The numerous convents they have for their ecclesiastics are filled with idols made of wood, earth, or stone, and covered over with gold, some of which are about 10 feet long, and lie on the ground, being surrounded by the smaller idols, which seem to pay homage to them, in the manner of disciples. The priests of the idols lead far more regular lives, and are less addicted to voluptuousness than the other idolaters. They abstain from certain meats, and from such acts of concupiscence and dishonourable deeds, as are there commonly considered as not to be very sinful. For if a woman makes the first advances to a man, it is according to their conscience no sin to enjoy her. But if the men make the first advances, in that case they look on it as a sin. The laymen have many wives, sometimes thirty and more, and some-

times less, according to their circumstances, for they get no portion with their wives; but, on the contrary, give the wife a fortune, consisting of cattle, slaves, and money. But the first wife always has the precedence; moreover, if they find that one of their wives does not live in harmony with the other, or if she displeases them, they may dismiss her. They marry their relations and kindred, and even their mothers in law. They have a kind of cycle or periodical revolution of lunar months, and in each of these they abstain for three, four, or five days, from blood and from the flesh of beasts and fowls, and worship their Gods according to the course of these lunar cycles. In the mean time they commit many other deadly sins, and live like beasts; as Marco Polo sufficiently experienced, when he with his father and uncle, on account of their business, resided for about a year in this place.

Travelling 12 days journey from *Kampion* (Kampion, Kantscheu) you come to a town called *Exina* (Eziva, Etziné is the name of a river in the northeastern part of Schensi, which discharges itself into the lake Sohuc-Nor, and Söpu-Nor), which borders on the great Sandy Desert, and is in the province of *Tanguth*. The inhabitants are idolaters, and live on their cattle and by agriculture, but have no traffic. In this country we find many Lannar falcons (*Falco Lanarius*) and very good Sacre falcons (*Falco sacer*). There are also forests of pine-trees, inhabited by wild asses, and many other wild beasts. The inhabitants keep a great number of camels and other cattle. Such travellers as intend going through the great desert, which is 40 days journey in length, buy their provisions here, as they afterwards meet with neither men nor habitations, excepting a few straggling people here and there on the mountains and in the valleys. At the end of these 40 days journey to the northwards, is the town called *Carachoran* (alias Taracoram, Caracoram, Korakarum, Karakoran, Karakum, Karakarin, and Holin). All the districts just described, viz. *Sachiou* (Schatfscheu) *Chamul* (Khamil)

mil) *Chinchitalas* (Sankindalai) *Succuir* (Suck) *Campion* (Kantscheu) and *Exina* (Etziné) are in the great province of *Tangut*.

Carachoran (Carchoran, Kara-Koran) is a town of three Italian miles in circumference. It is the place from which in times of yore the Tartars originally came; for want of stones, it is surrounded by an earthen bulwark or rampart only. On the outside of this there is a great castle, with a very elegant palace, in which the Governor usually resides.

In going to the northward from *Carachoran* (Karakoran) and from mount *Altay*, where the Emperors are buried, one comes to a large plain called *Bergu* (Bargu-fin is the name of a river on the east side of lake Baikal). The inhabitants are called *Metrites* (alias Medites, Meclites, Markæts) they are quite savage, and live on the flesh of wild beasts, (the largest of which are like stags, which moreover they ride, or rather harness to their carriages) as also on the birds and fish which they catch.

In travelling from the province of *Campion* to the east (south-west) for five (fifty) days, one comes to the empire called *Ergimul* (Erigimul, Eriginul) which is subject to the Great Khan, and belongs to the province of *Tangutb*. In it there are some Nestorian Christians, and Mahometans, as also Pagans. The capital of the country bears the same name, *Erginul* (Erdshi-nur), with the country itself. In going from thence to the south-westward to *Kathey* (North-China) you come to the town of *Singui* (Sigan in Schensi) situated in a district of the same name, which is also in the province of *Tangutb*, and is subject to the Great Khan. The inhabitants are some of them Nestorians, some of the religion of Mahomet, and others Idolaters. In this country there are great numbers of wild oxen, black and white, which are nearly as large as elephants, and have

have a very fine appearance. The hairs all over their bodies are short, excepting on the shoulders, where they are nine inches long, and as fine and white as possible, so as even to surpass silk; and Marco Polo brought some of these hairs to Venice, where every one admired them as great curiosities. Many of these wild oxen have been tamed, and made to cover common cows. The race engendered by these is fit for the hardest labour, and capable of bearing the greatest fatigue. Their owners make them carry the most heavy burthens, and plough twice as much ground with them as with oxen. In this same country, too, one meets with the finest musk. It is produced by a little animal of the shape of a gazel or antelope, and of the size of a goat. The form of it is as follows: The hair is coarser than that of a stag; the feet and tail are like those of a gazel, but it has no horns, as the gazel has. It has four teeth, two in the upper jaw, and two in the lower, which are above three inches long; two of them point upwards, and two downwards. These teeth are as white as ivory; and the animal has a beautiful shape*. About the time of the full moon it has an abscess in the region of the navel, which yields the finest musk. The flesh of this creature is good to eat. Marco Polo brought the head and feet of one of them to Venice. The inhabitants of this country live by commerce and handicraft professions, and the country itself produces a great quantity of corn. It is a journey of twenty-five days to travel through this province. There are pheasants in this country, twice as

* It is but a very little while since there was a live musk-goat at *Versailles*; to which the description here given answers perfectly well, except in this one particular, that it hath only two such teeth of three inches long in the upper jaw, but in the under jaw there are eight cutting teeth, besides six grinders in each jaw-bone. There must therefore be a mistake either in Marco Polo's description, or in the translation of it, or else his musk-goat must have been different from that which was kept alive at *Versailles*, as also from that, of which I have seen the skin stuffed, in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum. That this animal should secrete its musk at the time of the full moon only, and that it is an abscess, is one of the prejudices appertaining to the childhood of Natural History.

large as ours, and but very little less than peacocks. Their tails are from 24 to 30 inches long *. There are also other pheasants, in size and appearance like ours; as also many other sorts of birds, with the most beautiful plumage. The inhabitants are idolaters, rather fat, have small noses, black hair, and no beard, except here and there a single hair on the chin. The women of rank have beautiful hair, are very fair, perfectly well formed in all their limbs, but extremely lascivious. The men marrying, according to custom, as many wives as they are able to maintain, they do not seek rich but handsome women, and consequently make great presents to the mother and relations, in order to obtain their wives.

If now you travel for eight days from *Ergimul* (Erdſchi-nur) to the east (to the westward) you come to the district of *Erigaia* (alias Eggaya, Organum, and Irganekon), in which there are many towns and cities. It is the great province of *Tangutb*; its capital is *Calacia* (alias Cailac, Gailac, Golka). The inhabitants are idolaters, and the Nestorian Christians have three elegant churches here. They are all subject to the Great Khan. In the town of *Calacia* they make of white wool and the finest hair of camels (perhaps *Chamois*) a great quantity of Zambelottes (Schamlotte, Kamlotte) i. e. Camlets, which are the most beautiful in the world, and which are exported by the merchants to all parts of the globe, and particularly to *Kathay* (or North China). *Tenduc* (Tenduch, Teuduch) is a province to the eastward which formerly belonged to Prester John, but at present is subject to the Great

* These large pheasants belong undoubtedly to the extraordinarily beautiful genus which *Linnaeus* calls *Phasianus Argus*, of which in Europe there are to be found some feathers only of the wings and tails, in the collections of the curious; but as for the entire animal, perhaps no European, besides our traveller, has ever seen it. This is the more remarkable, as it is now already 500 years that this beautiful bird has been known, and yet we have never had a complete description of it.

Khan. It contains various towns and cities, and the capital of it is *Tenduc*. This province has a king of the family of Prester John, whose name is *George*, and to whom the Great Khan has ceded it, on condition, however, of the King's acknowledging his superiority; and these Kings generally marry the daughters of the Great Khan. King George is a Priest and a Christian; the greater part of his subjects also are Christians. In this province they find stones, from which they prepare very fine *Ultramarine Blue*, and that in great quantity. They also manufacture here *Zambellottes* or Camlets, of camels hair. The inhabitants live by agriculture, commerce, and handicraft professions. There are, however, besides the Christians, many Idolaters and Mahometans here. There is also a sort of people called *Argon*, because they have been begotten by two different races, viz. by the Idolaters at *Tenduc* and the Mahometans. These are without dispute the handsomest men of any in these parts, as well as the most ingenious and the most subtle in commerce.

This province was the principal residence of Prester John, in the North, whilst he reigned over the Tartars, and King George is the fourth from him; and there are two kingdoms here, over which this same Prester John formerly reigned, and which in our part of the world (viz. Europe) are known by the names of *Gog* and *Magog*; but by the inhabitants of these countries are called *Ung* and *Mongul**.

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* The celebrated Prester John is, as was said before, in the note to page 610, the *Ung-Chan*, or *Unkchan*, an appellation derived from the Chinese *Uang*, or *Wang*, but by others transmuted to *Aunak*, or *Avenak Khan*. He reigned over the *Karaites*, a tribe residing near the river *Kallassui* (*Karassibi*) which discharges itself into the *Abakan*, and afterwards into the *Jenisea*; and here at this very day live the *Kirgises*, who have a tribe among them, which they call *Karaites*. Vid. *Fischer's Sibirische Geschichte*, or *History of Siberia*, pag. 698, 709, and 710. But, after the manner of the Christians of those times, who constantly sought to introduce their Bible by hook or by crook on every occasion, the Oriental Christians no sooner had heard the least mention made of *Ungkhan*, than the name immediately brought to their remembrance that of John; and as perhaps

The inhabitants of *Ung* are *Gog*, and those of *Mongul* are Tartars. Travelling for seven days eastward through this province to *Kathay*, one meets with many towns and cities, the inhabitants of which worship idols ; others are Mahometans, and others again are Nestorian Christians. They live by commerce and manufactures ; for they make stuffs wrought with gold and flowers, and other filken stuffs of all kinds and colours, like those made amongst us ; also woollen stuffs of various sorts. These people are subject to the Great Khan. There is also a town here called *Sindicin* (alias *Sindacui*) where all the arts and occupations are carried on, which furnish the various kinds of weapons, arms, and warlike instruments, requisite for the use of an army : in the mountainous part of this province, is a place called *Idifa* (*Ydifu*) where there is an excellent silver mine, from which this metal is extracted in great quantities.

Going three days journey farther on, one arrives at the town of *Cianganor* * (*Cianganior*, *Cyangamor*, or *Tsahan-nor*) which signifies the White Lake : in this place the Great Khan has a palace, which he is very fond of inhabiting, there being many lakes and rivers thereabouts, in which there is a great number of swans, as also many plains, with cranes, pheasants, partridges, and birds of various kinds, in

haps this *Ungkhan* had suffered himself to be converted to the Christian religion by the Nestorians, and had even been persuaded to take Priest's orders ; they, without any more ado, transformed the Priest *Ungkhan*, into the Priest *Johann*, or Prester John ; and farther, as in the Prophet Ezekiel, mention is made of *Gog* and *Magog*, by the same spiritual alchemy they turned *Ung* into *Gog*, and the *Moguls* into *Magog*.

* This *Cianganor* is even according to Marco Polo's explication, *the White Sea*, i. e. that lake on the banks of which the sovereign usually resides, and this is properly called, in the Mogul language, *Tjaban-nor*. It is very possible indeed that it was somewhat more than three days journey from the country of the *Karaites* and the town of *Tenduc*, to the *Tjaban-nor* ; but no other *Tsahan-nor* can be meant, but the lake of this name, situated in 45 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 117 deg. long. It appears that Marco Polo does not point out the situations of his places in their proper order, but goes from one to another, just as his fancy leads him, though perhaps they do not lie immediately contiguous.

large

large flocks. The Great Khan is fond of hawking there with falcons and gerfalcons, and catches birds innumerable. There are five different kinds of cranes here. The first is quite black, like a raven, with large wings: the second has still larger wings, which are white and beautiful, and the wings are ornamented with round eyes, like those of the peacock, glittering with gold; the head is black and red, and finely shaped; the neck is black and white. The third sort resembles the Italian cranes. The fourth is a very small kind of crane, beautifully marked with a mixture of red and blue feathers. The fifth sort is grey, with a red and black head, and is very large withal. Very near the town is a valley, containing an astonishing number of partridges and quails, for the maintenance of which the Khan orders in summer, millets to be sown, and other seeds, as these birds are fond of eating the harvest of which seeds is never got in, that they may find plenty of food; a great number of people also is appointed to take care that nobody catches them, not even in the spring, when they sow the millet. These birds are therefore so tame and accustomed to their food, that the keeper needs only whistle and throw their meat on the ground, when they immediately come to him. The Great Khan has also ordered many small houses to be made for them to stay in during the night. Now whenever he comes to this province, he finds these birds in the greatest abundance; and in the winter, when they are quite fat, he orders great quantities of them to be brought over to him on camels and other beasts of burthen, as he is not used to stay there himself, on account of the intense cold.

In turning from the province to the south-west, three days journey, is a town called *Xandu* (Ciandu, Cyandi, Tschangtu), which was built by Kublai Khan, and in which he has had a palace erected, of marvellous art and beauty, and ornamented with marble and other choice

choice kinds of stone. On one side of the palace is a park including a plain of more than 16 Italian miles. In this inclosure are fine rich meadows, shrubberies, and rivers, and animals of all kinds are kept in it, such as stags, harts, deer, and other animals, which the Khan has ordered to be brought thither to feed his falcons and gerfalkons with, which he keeps there whilst they are moulting. When he rides out, he orders a leopard or more to be carried behind a man on horseback, and when he gives his command, the leopard is let loose, and immediately catches a hart, stag, or deer, which is given to the falcons for their food. In the midst of these meadows is a grove, in which there is a very elegant house, japanned all over, and ornamented with a great number of gilt columns and dragons, throughout which upwards of 200 silken cords are expanded, to prevent its being thrown down by the wind, it being made of cane, and consequently very light. This house may be taken quite to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. Every thing in it is arranged for the pleasure of the Khan, as he spends here three months every year, viz. *June, July, and August*. But on the 28th of August he adjourns to go to another place, in order to perform certain sacrifices. In fact, the Khan has a stud of horses and mares as white as snow, perhaps 10,000 in number, of the milk of which none dare venture to drink, but those who belong to the family of *Zinbis-Chan*, except the family of *Boriat*, which once having behaved with great prowess in a battle, were honoured with the privilege of drinking also of this milk. Part of this mare's milk the Great Khan is accustomed to sprinkle with his own hands in the air and on the earth, as an offering to the Gods and the Spirits, in order that his subjects, wives, children, cattle, and birds, the corn, and fruits of the earth may flourish and prosper. Three months of the year, viz. *December, January, and February*, Kublai Khan resides at *Cambalu*, properly called *Khan Balgassun*, or, for shortness, *Khan-Balga*, which the Arabian authors have

have converted into *Kbanbalick*, or *Kbanbaligh*; and the Italians to *Cbanbalig*, or *Cbanbalu*, *Cambalu*, and likewise *Gamalecco*. It signifies *Kingstown*, and is a translation of the Chinese word *King-Tsching*, which is at present the northern part of the city of *Pe-King*, i. e. of the northern residence, and contains the Imperial palace. This town is at the beginning of *Kathay*, to the south-eastward, and the name of it signifies the *Town of the Sovereign Lord* (or Khan). The streets in it are straight, is full of stately edifices, and the Imperial palace is large and magnificent. There is also within the town an extensive park, with plenty of game, and several groves and shrubberies, together with lakes, and other pieces of water.

These are, in brief, the contents of the description of the northern parts of Asia, by Marco Polo.

Besides the remarkable circumstances mentioned here, we farther find the following piece of intelligence, viz. that in Kathay, or North China, they make a wine of rice and spices, which is very palatable, and intoxicates sooner than real wine. But far more ancient is the account given by a Mahometan traveller, A. D. 851, translated from the Arabian, and published by *Eusebius Renaudot*. He says, "They (viz. the Chinese) have a kind of wine made of rice; they have "no other kind of wine in the country, nor indeed is there any other "brought to them; they do not drink wine, and do not even know what it is." Thus we find the most ancient account of brandy in China, where they in all probability have learned this method of making an intoxicating liquor, by means of fermentation and by the assistance of fire, from the northern shepherds, who so frequently have conquered that country; for if we take a review of all those nations of shepherds in the north of Asia, which have horses, we shall find already prevalent amongst them, the use of the fermented and intoxicating milk of mares, which they call *Kumys* (*Kosmos*); and
 U this

this liquor being drawn off by the assistance of fire, is called *Arrak*, which name is also at present all over China and India, and even in Europe, given to the rice brandy.

Another remark of Marco Polo's deserves to be mentioned relative to *pit-coals*, which he calls black combustible stones, which are dug out of the mountains, and which, if laid on the fire, will burn like wood, and continue burning for a long time; so that when they are kindled in the evening, they continue to burn for the whole night. These stone are very much used, as in some places wood is very scarce.

Lastly, *Marco Polo* confirms what *Ruybroeck* and *Haitbo*, and other authors after him, have said concerning the use of paper money in China. He says it is made of the bark of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which serve for food for the silkworms; the finest innermost bark is separated from the exterior coarse bark; it is then rubbed and stamped, and the whole made up with a kind of size so as to look like cotton paper. These coins are all black, of an oblong-square form, the greater as well as the smaller, and are made with great preciseness and formality. Every officer engaged in the process puts his mark upon each piece; and last of all, the Intendant appointed by the Emperor for this purpose, makes a stamp upon it with red cinnabar, from which stamp it receives its currency and value. The counterfeiting of this coin is punished with death, nor dares any body refuse to receive it on pain of death; and all payments are made in this money. It is pretty evident, that as well the bark of the *morus papyrifera*, or paper-mulberry tree, as of that with which the silkworms are raised in China, and perhaps also that of the white and black, and of the Tartarian mulberry-tree, is fit for the manufacturing of paper; and as still all the paper in *China* and *Nipon* (Japan) is made of the bark of the mulberry-tree, it would be certainly worth while, in the present prevailing scarcity of rags, to cultivate that very hard sort, the Tartarian mulberry-tree, as not only the leaves of
it

it will produce good food for silk-worms, but also its bark may be used with great advantage for the purpose of making paper.

VII. *Oderic of Portenau* *, a minorite Friar, in the year 1318, travelled to the eastern countries, and went, in company with other Monks, as far as China; after his return, he dictated the whole account of his journey, but without any order or arrangement, and just as it occurred to his memory, to Friar *William de Solona* (or Solangna) at Padua, A. D. 1330.

From this relation we learn, that *Oderic* sailed from Constantinople across the great (i. e. the Black) Sea to Trebizond, where he saw a man travelling along with a flock of more than 4000 partridges, which had been made so tame, that whenever he sat down to rest himself, they all gathered round about him, like tame fowls, and in this manner he transported them to Trebizond, where the Emperor took as many of them as he wanted, the remainder being taken back by the man to place whence he had brought them. After this, *Oderic* went to Armenia Major, and *Azaron* (Erz-el-Rum) from thence to *Tauris* (Tebriz) *Soldania* (or Soltania) *Cassan* (alias Kaffibin, or Kafvin) and *Gest* (or Yezd) which is situated where the Sandy Sea (*Mare Arenosum*) begins, and at length to *Konnum* (alias Kom, Komru, Ghomrun, or Gombron) and finally to *Ormes* (or Ormus). From this last place he went to India, then to *Manzi* (South China) and after passing through

* This *Oderic* is likewise styled *de Foro Julii de Portu Vabonis* (read Nahonis): he is also called *Oldericus* and *Oderisius*. This *Portenau* is probably the *Mutatio ad Nonum* mentioned in the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, being derived from *Port*, in the Kymorian tongue, a station, stage, or baiting-place, and *Navv*, or *Naon*, nine; *Portus Naonis* consequently is Portenau. In Friuli this place is at present called *Pordanone*. The account of his travels he has intitled *De Mirabilibus Mundi*. These travels, together with the History of his Life, are to be found in *Bollandi Actis S. S. m. Jan. d. 14*, as also in *Waddingii Annales Minor*. Tom. iii. He died at *Udine*, A. D. 1331. *Basilio Asquini*, an Italian Barnabite, published at *Udine* in 1737, *La Vita e Viaggi del beato Odorico da Udine*, in 8vo.

many difficulties, at length arrived at the capital of the empire, *Kambaleth* (otherwise called Kambalick, or Khan-Balga) which is situated beyond the river *Khara-moran* (Kara-morin, or Hoang-Ho). Having seen many strange and marvellous things in *Katbai*, he proceeded 50 days journey to the westward, to the country of Prester John, and to the capital called *Tozan* (otherwise Kofan, Tsfahan, or Tsfahan-Nor). Upon this, after a long journey, he came to the province of *Kassan* (Kasan, or Turkestan) which is upwards of 50 days journey in breadth, and 60 in length, and is full of populous towns, and likewise produces abundance of excellent provisions, particularly chefnuts. At length he came quite to *Tibek* (Tibet, or Tebet) in the capital of which resides an *Abassi*, the Pope and Chief of the Idolaters. The women in this country wear their hair plaited in more than 100 braids. If any one dies, and the son of the deceased wishes to do his father honour, he calls together a number of ecclesiastics, who, followed by all the friends and relations of the defunct, carry the body in great pomp into the fields; there they cut off the head, and give it to the son; the flesh they cut off piecemeal from the bones, praying all the while devoutly. As soon as ever they depart, come the vultures, which are quite used to this business, and carry off all the flesh. In consequence of this, the deceased is accounted a good man, and a saint, the angels being supposed to carry his corpse to Paradise. The son in the mean time takes the head home, and eats the flesh of it. Of the skull a cup is made, out of which he and all the relations of the defunct drink with festal solemnity.

As we have only a few imperfect fragments left of the journey of Friar Oderic, it is hardly worth while to make any farther extracts from the remainder.

VIII. *John de Mandeville* was descended from an ancient and very noble family in England. He was born at St. Alban's. His inquisitive
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turn of mind, and his undaunted resolution prompted him to inquire into all the sciences, and that with equal success. He had studied physic as well as mathematics, with diligence and attention; and likewise, following the fashion of those times, had made great progress in divinity, and had written books in all these sciences. He was equally expert in the exercises proper for a gentleman; and thus, in search of new adventures, he set out A. D. 1332 (1322) on a journey to the Holy Land, by the way of France; and, after an absence of 33 years, returned to his native country, having travelled nearly over all Asia, and having served in the army of the Sultan of Egypt, *Mandybron* (Malek el Nafer Mohammed, who reigned from 1310 to 1341) and in that of the Great Khan in China (Schun Hoamti, or Tokatmur). He died at last on the 17th of November, 1371, at Liege, where he also lies interred. He drew up an account of his Travels in Latin, French, and English. The best of these works seems to be that published in London in large 8vo, 1727, in the old English dialect, for all the others are merely extracts. However, it is with this journey, as it used to be with the writers of Chronicles in the middle ages. One always copied from the other. The Travels of Friar Oderic contain many things which are likewise to be found in the Travels of Sir John Mandeville. The copyists seem to have had the intention of completing their copy from another author who had written on a similar subject, and this is probably the reason of the exact correspondence observed between them. Besides the Latin, French, and English editions, already mentioned, there are also translations of these travels into the Italian, Spanish, and German languages.

The accounts of the southern parts of Asia do not concern us; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that in Mandeville's time, the war was already begun with the revolted Prince of *Manzi*, or South China, who entirely drove the descendants of *Zinghis Khan* out of *Kathay*, or North-China. *Cambalu* however was still the residence of the Great Khan, where he resided for the space of three years.

The

The province of Kathai (by which probably is meant Kara-Kathay) has the kingdom of *Tharhis* to the east, and to the west the empire of *Turquescen* (Turkestan). It contains many beautiful towns, the principal of which is *Oetopar* (or Otrar). The empire of *Turquescen* is bounded on the west (south-west) by Persia, and on the north (on the west) by *Corasine* (Khuarezm). This empire is very large, and to the eastward (to the northward) is contiguous to the desert. It abounds in all kind of provisions; the capital is also called *Corasine* (alias Khuarezm, or, according to Abulfeda, Korkang). It is bounded on the west (north-west) by the empire of *Kommania*, which is very extensive, but not so well inhabited; for in some places there is an insupportable heat, and in others as intolerable a degree of cold; the swarms of flies, too, which infest this country, render it uninhabitable.

IX. *Francisco Balducci Pegoletti*, an Italian, wrote in the year 1335, a system of commercial geography, of great importance, considering the period in which it was written: the title is; *Di divisamenti di paesi, e di Misure, di mercatanzie, ed altre cose bisognevoli di sapere a mercatanti, di diversi parti del mondo* *. No historian has hitherto profited by this treatise. Professor *Sprengel* has been the first to make use of it in his *Extent and Increase of Geographical Knowledge*. We shall therefore insert here a translation of that part of it which relates to our present undertaking, entire, and without any abridgment; he calls it, *Avisamento del viaggio del Gattajo per lo Cammino della Tana ad andare e tornare con mercatanzia*, i. e. an indication of the route that may be taken with merchandise from *Tana* (or Azof), to *Gattay*, (Kathay, or North China) and from thence back again.

* This Commercial Geography has been reprinted entire in a book where one would hardly think of looking for it, viz. in the 3d vol. of the work intitled *Della Decima e della altre gravexze. Liffona e Lucca*. 1766, 4to.

“ In the first place from *Tana* (or *Azof*) to *Gintarchan* (1) (or *Astrakhan*) it is twenty-five days journey with waggons drawn by oxen; but with waggons drawn by horses it is only ten or twelve days journey. On the road one meets with a great number of armed *Moccals* (Mogols). From *Gintarchan* to *Sara* (2), by the river, it is but one day's sail; but from *Sara* to *Saracanco* (3), it is eight days journey by water; one may, however, travel either by land or water, whichever is most agreeable; yet, with merchandise, it is cheapest to go by water. From *Saracanco* to *Organci* (4) it is twenty days journey travelling with camels. Whoever travels with merchandise will do well to go to *Organci*, it being a convenient country for the expeditious sale of goods. And from *Organci* to *Oltrarra* (5) it is thirty-five or forty days journey with camels. But in going from *Saracanco* straight on to *Oltrarra*, it takes up

(1) *Gintarchan*, or *Zintarchan*, is by *Josaphat Barbaro* also called *Gitarchan*; and *Wissen* says, in his *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, pa. 709, *Astracan was van ouds genaemt CITRACAN*, i.e. *Astrakan* was anciently called *Citracan*. By the *Calmucks* it is called *Hadschi Aidar Khan Balgassun*, or the city of *Hadschi Aidar Khan*; whence all those names are derived, of *Zitarkhan*, *Sfirakhan*, and *Astrakhan*.

(2) *Sara* is undoubtedly the town of *Saray*, so often spoken of above, and situated on the eastern arm of the *Wolga*, or *Achtuba*. The *Astrachan* mentioned by *Balducci Pegoletti*, was not on the same spot where that town stands now, but the ancient *Astrachan* was demolished together with *Saray*, by the Emperor *Timur*, in the winter of 1395. The old town of *Saray* was pretty near the ancient *Astrakhan*.

(3) *Saracanca* is very probably the town formerly existing on the river *Jaik*, or *Ural*, the remains of which are still called *Saratcbik*.

(4) It is easy to recognize *Organci* in the town of *Urgenz*, in *Kheucarefm*. This place is called likewise by *Abulfeda*, *Dschordschania*, and by the Persians, *Kerkang*. But there were two towns of this name, viz. the Great and the Lesser *Urgenz*. The one was very near the place where the *Gibun* discharges itself into lake *Aral*, this was called *Old Urgenz*; another of this name, called *New Urgenz*, is to be found near *Chiwa*, on the *Gibun*.

(5) *Oltrarre* is properly called *Otrar*, and also *Farab*, [which latter name is to be found in so early a writer as *Abulfeda*. It is situated on the river *Sihon*, or *Sirr*. The Chinese, who can not pronounce the letter *r*, call it *Uetala*.

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“ fifty days journey ; and if one has no merchandise, it is a better way than that by *Organci*. From *Oltrarre* to *Armalecco* (6), it is forty-five days journey travelling with asses, and in the road one meets every day with *Moccals* (Mogols). From *Armalecco* to *Camexu* (7) it is seventy days journey on asses, and from *Camexu* to a river called *Kara Morin* (8) it is fifty days journey on horses. From this river the traveller may go to *Cassai* (9), to dispose of his loading of silver there, this being a very good country for the expeditious sale of merchandize, and from *Cassai* he goes through the whole land of Gattay with the money he has received at *Cassai* for his silver ; this money is paper money, called *Babischi*, four of which *Babischies* make a silver *Somno*. From *Cassai* to *Gamalecco* (10), which is the capital of the land of *Cattai*, it is 30 days journey.”

If the reader has any idea of the difficulty attendant on making out so many names of places disguised by a vicious orthography, a difficulty which is still more increased by the necessity there is for determining with accuracy the situation of these places, and their probable distance from each other, he will perhaps be ready to allow, that the task is certainly not very trifling, nor to be accomplished without much labour.

(6) *Armalecco* is the name of a town called *Almalig*, which, according to *Nassir Ettusi*, and *Ulugbegg*, is in *Turkestan*. From *Scherfeddin Ali*, the author of the life of *Timur*, it appears, that this *Almalig* is situated between the town of *Taschkent* and the river *Irtisch*, in the country of *Geté*, on the banks of the river *Ab-Eile*, which at this very day discharges itself into the *Sibon*, or *Sirr-Daria*.

(7) *Camexu* is probably nothing more than the name of *Kbame*, or *Kbami*, with the addition of *xu*, instead of *Tschew*, which in the Chinese language signifies a town.

(8) The river above-mentioned is doubtless the *Kara Morin*, i. e. *Kara Moran*, but which the Chinese call *Hoang-ho*.

(9) *Cassai* seems to be the place called *Kissen*, on the northernmost winding of the *Hoang-Ho*.

(10) *Gamalecco* is without doubt *Cambalig*, or *Peking* ; in like manner as *Gatsey* is put for *Katay*.

Balducci Pegoletti certifies also the existence of the paper money in China, previously mentioned by *Ruybroeck*, *Haitbo*, *Marco Polo*, and *Oderic of Portenau*, which some of the above authors describe as being made of cotton paper; others, on the contrary, remark very justly, that it is made of the bark of the mulberry-tree. *Oderic of Portenau* calls it *Balis*, *Balducci Pegoletti* *Balischi*; *Mandeville* says it is made of leather. A jesuit, named *Gabriel de Magaillans*, pretends, that *Marco Polo* was mistaken with regard to the paper-money: but it is pretty clear, by the testimonies of about six travellers, eye-witnesses to the fact, that such paper-money actually did exist in the times of the Emperors of the Mogul race, or of the regal tribe of *Tu*, and then only, having been abolished afterwards.

X. *John Schildtberger*, from *Munich* in Bavaria, went from *Hungary*, A. D. 1394, with the army of king *Sigismund*, against the Turks, but in 1395 was taken prisoner by them, and by *Bajazet I.* or, as he constantly writes it, *Weyasit*, who reigned from 1389 to 1403, was sent into Asia. On *Bajazet's* being defeated and made captive by *Timur*, *Schildtberger* was taken prisoner likewise, and accompanied the Emperor *Timur* in his expeditions; and even in the last, during which he died, in the year 1405, at *Otrar*, or *Farab*, though *Schildtberger* says, that he died in his capital of *Samarkant*. He was afterwards with *Scharoch* (*Schah-Rokh*), and remained with the auxiliaries which *Schahrokh* left with his brother *Miranschah* to fight against *Kara-Joseph*, a *Turkomannian* Emir, of the black-weather tribe. *Miranschah* having been beheaded by order of *Kara-Joseph*, *Schildtberger* followed *Abubachir* (*Abubekr*), *Miranschah's* son. With *Abubekr* there lived a son of a king of Great Tartary; of the name of *Zegra*. This *Zegra* received a message from *Edigi** (*Aideku*, *Ideku*, or *Yedighey-Khan*), purporting that he

X

would

* About this time many abuses had got footing amongst the golden tribe on the Wolga. *Mansy* and *Yedighei*, had not, it is true, the title of the Great Khan of the golden tribe in *Kaptichak*, but

would give up to him the sovereignty over *Kaptshak*. Zegra setting out on this occasion for Great Tartary, Schildtberger and four others went along with him. Their route carried them through *Strana*, which produces good silk; then through *Gurfey* (Gurghia, or Georgia), where there are Christians; after this into the country of *Labinsham*, where silk is also cultivated; and then through another called *Schurban* (Schirwan), where the silk is produced, from which silk stuffs are made at *Damascus* and *Kaffer*. Next they passed through a town called *Bursa* (the mountain of *al Burs*) which is situated in Turkey*, and from whence the fine silk is sent to Venice and Lucca, of which velvet is made: this is an unhealthy country: then through another called *Temur capit* (Demirkapi, or Derbend), that is, in the Tartarian tongue, the *Iron-Gate*, which separates Persia from Tartary. Then he went through a town of great strength, called *Origens*, situated in the middle of the water of *Edil*. After this he passed through a mountainous country, called *Setzalet*, in which there are many Christians, who have a Bishop, and some Carthusian Monks, who, however, do not perform the church service in the Latin, but in the Tartarian language, to the end that the common people may understand what is sung and read. They were now come into Great Tartary to *Edigi*, who had sent word to Zegra to come over, and that he would give him the crown. This Edigi had just at that juncture assembled all his troops, and was going to march them into the land of *Ibiffibur* (Biffibur, or Ifsibur). They were obliged to march for the space of two months before they could reach it. In this country there is a range of moun-

but they had in fact the power in their hands, and set Khans from among the royal family on the throne, and deposed them again at their pleasure. They were descendants of Tuschin Khan; it is therefore no wonder, that after Timur's death, *Yedighe Khan* should endeavour to raise Zegra to the throne, who was of royal descent.

* It is evident, that Schildtberger mistakes here the mountain *Al Burs* for the town of *Bursa*, which was situated in those parts, and which at that time belonged to the Turkish Sultans of the race of Osman.

tains,

tains, of 32 days journey in length, and at the end of it is a desert, which is the end of the earth. The desert is uninhabitable on account of the reptiles and wild beasts with which it is infested. In the mountains there are savages roaming about, who are hairy all over, excepting on the face and hands. They live on green leaves and roots, and on whatsoever else they can get at. In these mountains also there are wild asses as big as horses, together with other wild beasts. The dogs in this country are made to draw carts and sledges, and serve their masters likewise for food. They are as big as asses. The inhabitants of *Iffibur* believe in Christ. They bury their young people who die in celibacy, with music and rejoicing, and eat and drink on their graves. In this country they cultivate nothing but beans, and never eat any bread. Schildtberger likewise observes, that he saw all this himself, when he was with *Zegra*, the king's son.

Having conquered *Biffibur*, they went to *Walor* (Bulgar, or Wolgar) and conquered that also; and then returned into their own country. It is a custom obtaining in that country, that the King of Great Tartary has an *Obmann* over him, who has the power to elect a King and to dismiss him; and also has power over the Lords of the land: this dignity was at that time in the hands of *Edigi*; and the king, together with the *Obmann*, all the nobility, and the whole people, with their wives and children, wander up and down, winter and summer, with their cattle and their whole property, in huts, which amounts to about the number of one hundred thousand.

Now there was at that time a king in Great Tartary, named *Schudicbbochen*, or *Kom* (Schadibeck-Khan) the son of *Timur Utluck*, the grandson of *Timur-melik-aglen*, and great grandson of *Urus-Khan*; he reigned from 1401 to 1406. The instant he heard that *Edigi* was approaching, he took flight, but was pursued and killed in the skirmish. *Edigi* gave him a successor, named *Polat* (Pulad-Khan, son of Schadibeck). He reigned for the space of a year and a half (from

1406 to 1408). After him *Segel Alladie* (*Zedy Khan*, the son of *Tokatmysch*, or *Toktemysch-Khan*) got possession of the throne: but he was soon driven away by *Timir*, the brother of *Polat* (*Timur-Khan*, son of *Timur-Utluck*) who reigned 14 months. His brother *Thebak*, taking the field against him, with a view to dispute the sovereignty with him, killed him, notwithstanding which he never attained to the throne, but his brother, *Kerunbardin*, ascended it, who however reigned but five months. *Thebak* now endeavoured to dispossess his brother of the sovereignty; but he did not enjoy it long; for at this juncture came *Edigi*, and set up *Zegra* in his place. But *Zegra* was Khan only for nine months, for *Machmet* (Mohammed-Khan, son of the above-mentioned *Timur Khan*, and grandson of *Timur Utluck*) fought a pitched battle with *Edigi* and *Zegra*, in which the first was taken prisoner, and the second fled into a country called *Kesibipfchah* (Defcht-Kiptschak). But *Machmet* was in his turn driven away by *Waroch*; from whom, however, soon after, *Machmet* retook his dominions, which were a second time taken from him by *Doblaberd*, who kept possession of them but three days, when he was in his turn dethroned by *Waroch*. He was, however, afterwards killed by *Machmet*, who assumed the sovereign power: now *Zegra* endeavoured to seat himself once more on the throne, but he was killed; and Schildtberger, with the four other Christians, attached themselves to *Manustzusch*, who had been *Zegra's* counsellor, and who went on his journey to *Kaffa* in Crimea, where there are Christians, and where there are six different religions prevalent among the people. After a stay of five months in *Kaffa*, *Manustzusch* crossed an arm of the Black Sea (the straits of *Zabake*) into a country called *Zecksbas* (Zikchia) where he remained six months. But the Sultan of Turkey sent to the sovereign of the country, requesting him not to allow *Manustzusch* to stay in his dominions. He therefore went into the

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land

land of *Magrill* (Mangrill, or Mingrelia). Schildtberger and his Christian companions now resolved to return home, as they were at the distance only of three days journey from the Black Sea; they took leave therefore of *Manusfzufch*, and going to the capital of the country of *Batban* (Bedian, Bedias) desired they might be conveyed across the sea, which was, however, refused them: upon this they rode four days along the coast, till at length they espied a *Kokan* (or ship) which was at the distance of about eight Italian miles from the shore. They then made a signal to the ship by means of fire, which thereupon sent people to them in a *zullen* (boat) to whom they made themselves known; and having, by rehearsing the Lord's Prayer, *Ave-Maria*, and the Creed, proved themselves to be Christians, and the men having carried an account thereof to the Captain of the ship, they came back with *zullen* (boats) to fetch them. After going through many dangers, they landed at last at Constantinople, where they were well received by the Grecian Emperor (Johannes Palæologus), who sent them in a galley to the castle of *Gili* (Kilia), on the lower end of the *Tbonauw* (or Danube). Schildtberger having parted with his friends, went with some merchants to a town called *White-town* (Akkierman, Asprokastro, Tschetät-alba, Belgorod) which is situated in Walachia. From thence he went to the capital of the Lesser Walachia (Moldavia), called *Sedbof* (Sutschawa, formerly the capital of all Moldavia). Then they came to a town called in the German tongue *Lubich* (Lwow, or Lemberg) which is the capital of all White Russia, where Schildtberger lay sick for near three months; and, finally, he went by the way of *Cracow*, the capital of *Bohen* (Poland), and *Presla* (Breslau), the capital of *Silesia*, through *Misnia*, *Eger*, *Ratisbon*, and *Freyfingen*, back to *Munich*, having been from home upwards of thirty-two years.

This

This narrative of Schildtberger's furnishes us with many particulars which ascertain the situation of Tartary at that time. The succession of the Khans of *Khaptshak* is very deserving of our attention; as is also the following circumstance, viz. that we no longer find any mention made of *Saray* and *Astrakhan*; for if I am not mistaken, his *Origens* is *Agrachan*. As to his saying that it stands in the middle of the *Edil*, or *Volga*, this is probably a mistake, for *Edil* signifies any river whatever; in fact, *Astrakhan*, as well as *Saray*, has already been demolished by the Emperor Timur, about the year 1595. He speaks of the wild asses in the mountainous deserts, and the dogs which were harnessed to sledges. The town *Iffibur*, or *Biffibur*, is the ancient Russian town of *Iborsk*. In short, he must be allowed to be a sensible writer, and a man of veracity.

The ambassadors of the Emperor Timur's son, *Schab Rokh*, in the year 1420, went from *Herat*, the residence of *Schab Rokh*, to *Kathai*, to the court of the Emperor *Yonglo*, and had audience of him. This journey has been described by the famous Persian historian, *Emir Khond* (or *Emir-Khovand*, or *Mirchond*), in his book "of the wonders of the world." The worthy Burgomaster of Amsterdam, *Nicholas Witsen* *, has inserted this journey, translated from the Per-

* This remarkable work of *Nicholas Witsen* is very rare, either of the two editions of it being extremely seldom to be met with; for *Witsen* suppressed this work from motives with which we are not acquainted. This is the reason why it is so seldom to be found even in large collections of books. The library of our University is in possession of a copy of it; which formerly belonged to the Empress of Russia's library, and was purchased for the said library, at the sale of the late M. Thunman's effects, for eighty rix-dollars. I have now the pleasure to inform the publick, that *Schaalcamp* the bookseller at Amsterdam, has at length procured from the heirs of *Witsen* the remaining copies of this book, together with the plates; and according to the advices I have received from Amsterdam, he intends to accommodate the publick with it in the month of May; but at the same time I am informed "that it will not appear in so compleat a state as that of the 'genuine impression,' though it will be set off with a new preface, and "with as many plates as "the editors have been able to find."

fian language into the Dutch, in the second edition of his excellent work, intitled *Nord en Oost Tartarye*, from page 435 to 452. We will here give an extract of the most interesting part of it. And though this journey was not undertaken by Italians, yet as, like all the other travels inserted above, it throws some light on the interior parts of the North of Asia, with which we have hardly the least acquaintance, we think ourselves justified in presenting it to our readers, as an important addition to the common stock of knowledge with respect to different countries and nations.

“ The ambassadors of *Mirza Schab Rokh*, of whom *Shadi Khodschah* was the principal, set out from *Herat*, A. D. 1419, about the month of November, and went to *Balkh*. In January 1420, they proceeded to *Samarkand*, from which place they did not depart till February, when they went to *Taaschkent*, and *Asperah*, and immediately after came into the territory of the Moguls: on the first of April they arrived in *Pielgutu* (Palchas?) a place belonging to *Mubammed Beck*. They then went over the water of *Lenger* (Abi-lenger, Abi-longur), and visited the Sultan *Schadi Gurgahn*, the son of *Mubammed Beck*, who received them kindly; and in eight days after this they came to that district which was the residence of the *Jel*, the tribe of *Schier Begrahm*. This was a desert, where the cold is so intense, that even at the summer solstice the water is sometimes covered with ice two inches thick. Some time after having learned that the ambassadors of *Oweys Khan* had been attacked and plundered, their fears occasioned them to travel over the mountains with the greatest expedition, notwithstanding that it rained and snowed continually, inso-much that, by the 12th of May, they reached the town of *Turfan* (Turkhan, Tarfaan, or Tarkhaan). The greatest part of the inhabitants here were Idolaters, and worshiped a large idol called *Schamku*, which they kept in a temple. Two days after this the ambassadors made their departure, and in three days more came to *Kharadziab* (*Haraschar*, or *Asaralic*, or rather *Haracofa*). Here they had scarcely been

been five days, before there arrived some Kathayan secretaries, who took down in writing the names of the ambassadors, and the number of their retinue. Nine days after this they came to a town called *Naaz* (or Naar), where there are several *Zeijids*, or descendants of Mahomed, who are settled thereabouts at a certain place called *Termed*. In two days more they came to the town of *Kabul* (Kamyl, or Khamil), where the Mahometans have a fine mosque, built by their superintendant *Emir Fakhr-Eddien*. From thence they travelled for the space of twenty-five days through a desert, during all which time they came every second day only to a watering place. They also saw lions there, contrary to the opinion of some who pretend there are no lions in Kathay; they observed likewise, a very particular kind of wild bulls, called *Gau Kbottabs*, which were endued with such strength, as to be able to lift a man from off his horse, and had very hairy tails, which are in great estimation over all Asia; they being by some carried about on long poles by way of ornament, and by others hung round their horses necks; while on other occasions they are made use of for fly-flaps. Next they came to a small Kathayan town called *Katafekt-scheu* (Sektischeu, Schatscheu); and the latter part of the journey having been through the desert, where they were for the space of ten days without water, they were met by the order of the Emperor, in a pleasant green field, by some Kathayans. These latter erected tents for them, and entertained them with roasted geese, fowls, and other sorts of flesh-meats, as also with different kinds of fruits, dried and fresh, which were served up to them in china dishes; after their repast they were regaled likewise with all sorts of inebriating liquors. The huts in which these entertainments were given, were ornamented with green boughs of all kinds; the entertainments, however, were not so elegant and expensive as those with which they were usually welcomed

welcomed in large towns. At this place very exact lists were made of all the servants belonging to the embassy, the ambassadors being at the same time very earnestly requested to state the exact number and no more, and the merchants having been stated in the number of servants, were on that account obliged to perform the services falling to their lot. The list of the servants belonging to the *Emir Khodschah*, and to the ambassador *Kukschah*, amounted to two hundred people; and that of *Arderwahn* to fifty. The ambassadors of *Mirza Ulug Bek*, the son of *Schah Rokh*, had set out before; but those of *Mirza Ibrahim Sultan* *, were not as yet arrived. It is remarkable, that amongst the many viands, fruits, and liquors, that were set before them, there was also a pot of Chinese tea, a potation which the jesuit *Trigault* imagined had come into use of late years only in China **.

From this place their route lay again through a desert, in which, after some days, they met with a *Karawul* ***, or out-post, which

* Mirza Ibrahim Sultan was also a son of Schah Rokh, and his dominions extended over the province of *Fars*, the capital of which was Schiras.

** Tea is called by the Chinese *Tschah*, and its use is very ancient. We have two Arabian authors, the one of which wrote A.D. 851, and the other 867. The most ancient of these mentions, that even at that early period, the Chinese made frequent use of an infusion of the leaves of a shrub, called by them *Sab*, or *Tschah*; and the use of this herb must by this time have become absolutely necessary to the Chinese, for the Emperor had a great income from a tax he had laid upon tea; a fact, which involves the supposition, that by long use, this plant was become so unavoidably necessary, that they might confidently venture to lay a tax on it. *Eusebius Renaudot* has published a French translation of these two Arabian writers of travels, the title of which is, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, traduites de l'Arabe par P. Abbé Renaudot à Paris.* 1718. 8vo.

*** This Persian word is also introduced into the Tartarian language, and from thence the Russians have transplanted it into theirs; for a guard, or watch, is called in the Russian language, a *karaul*.

was not only very strongly fortified, but also very full of people. Now this was a pass in the mountains through which all travellers must unavoidably go. Here their retinue was examined again. From this pass they came to the town of *Natfchiu* (Nang-tfieu, Naatfieu), which is very large, and encompassed by a strong wall, and has many markets for all kinds of merchandise and meat. The markets are very clean swept, and are laid with a strong cement of stucco. The four principal streets cross each other at right angles. From Nang-tfieu they came to another town called *Kbamtfschu*. After some time they came to the *Abi Daraan* (or the water of *Daraan*, which immediately after is called *Khararaan*, and probably ought to be *Kara-Moran*), which they crossed on a *pont volant*, or flying boat-bridge, and came to a very fine town with magnificent temples; here they also found three houses, with some elegantly dressed and very beautiful public women in them, most of whom were natives. The Persians called this town in their language (*Rhofnabaad*) the habitation of beauty. After this they passed through some more towns, and came to a river which was twice as large as the *Oxus* (or *Gihon*), and then they met with several more rivers, which they crossed by means of bridges and ferry-boats, till they arrived at *Cbiendienpubr*, a very large and populous town; there they saw a cast image of yellow metal gilded, a hundred feet high, which had a great number of hands, each of which held an eye; this image was placed on a pedestal of polished stone, and surrounded by six tiers of balustrades. At length, in December 1420, they reached the city *Cbaan-Balug* (Khan-baligh). The workmen here were still occupied in building the walls of the town, which is square; and of which the external wall measures four miles on each side. The ambassadors being arrived at the imperial palace, which was very magnificent, were, after some time,

time, presented to the Emperor, and having taken refreshments, were dismissed. Some days after, the Emperor gave them an elegant entertainment, and they were daily well received at court, where they remained five months. The Emperor then made presents to the ambassadors, and gave them also some other presents for their masters, which latter presents chiefly consisted of falcons. It is farther to be observed, that each of the principal ambassadors was presented with several *Balisch* of silver; hence it appears that a *Balisch* is either a coin or a weight; and as we have seen before, that the paper money of the *Zinghiskenides* was also called *Balisch*, it seems evident that these *Balisch* were pieces of silver of a certain value; we know, however, that the amount could not be very considerable, as silver has always been scarce in China, and the principal ambassador had only ten *Balisch* given him, while the others received no more than seven or eight. Finally, I find also amongst the presents many things of which we have not the least knowledge; and last of all, 2000 or 5000 *Dzjau*, or *Tzjau*, which *Witsen* interprets to be an unknown species of coin. It is possible, however, that *Witsen* may have been mistaken in this, just as he was in the *Balishes* of silver, which he makes out to be head-pillows; and indeed to me it appears probable, that it was *Tschä*, or tea, of which we should perhaps understand here, 2000, or 5000 *Kasch*, or *Kanderins*, i. e. certain very small Chinese weights. But what is no less remarkable, is that tin appears also here amongst the presents, in seventy, and twenty-four small pieces.

Just before the departure of the ambassadors, one of the Emperor's favourite consorts happening to die, great preparations were made for her funeral, when the palace, which was quite new-built, and japanned and gilded all over, was struck by lightning, and, together with many out-buildings, burnt down to the ground. These events affected the Emperor so much, that he fell sick, and died of mere grief and sorrow; and for the remainder of the time that the Ambassadors staid there, his son conducted the affairs of the empire,

About the middle of May, 1421, the ambassadors set out again from *Chanbaligh*, accompanied by some of the chief officers of the Empire, and were again regaled in all the towns in the same manner as they had been in their way thither. In about a fortnight they arrived at *Sekaan*, or *Segaan* (Sigan-fu); they were likewise permitted to pursue their journey uninterrupted, and without having their baggage searched, as was otherwise usually done. Thirty-five days after this, they came to the river *Kbaramuran*; and in nineteen days more they reached *Khamtsu* (Khantscheu); here every thing was restored to them, that had been taken from them by the Kathayans, when they were on their road to the capital, as well as what they had left there to be taken care of till their return. In this town they staid seventy-five days, and soon after came to *Nangtschiu*. They did not set out again on their journey before the month of January, 1412, when they came to Karaul, the out post before-mentioned, near the pass in the mountains. From the middle of January, to the tenth of March, in order to avoid the bad roads, they travelled with great difficulty and labour through the desert, and reached, in fifty-five days, *Chotan* (Khoten, Hotum) about the beginning of May. In the beginning of August they came to *Kbafger* (Kaschar, or Hafiker). In fifteen days from this, they arrived at *Andegan* (Andischdan, or Dedschan); and in about twenty days more, reached *Herat*, the residence of *Schabrokh*, in the first part of September, 1422.

This expedition is also remarkable, inasmuch as the ambassadors returned by a road very different from that by which they came; for the tracks of these routes are in some places nearly five degrees of latitude distant from each other. We find tea already in use here. We see that at this period the paper balisches are no longer used, silver balisches, which however seem to be very scarce, being made use of in their stead. Tin must have been a commodity of

peculiar value even amongst the Chinese. We cannot here avoid remarking with pleasure, the honorable reception given by the Chinese, to the Ambassadors; the particular attention with which they registered the number of their retinue; and the exact probity with which they preserved, and restored the things entrusted to their care. Finally, I must observe farther, that gilt and japanned dwelling-houses, like the before-mentioned, must necessarily be very much exposed to thunder, as the gold acts as a conductor, and draws the fire of the lightning straight into the inner rooms, which are composed of wood, and varnished with so combustible a substance as lac, and where, consequently, it must hardly be possible to extinguish it."

XII. *Josaphat Barbaro*, a Venetian, was, by the republic of Venice, in the year 1436, sent ambassador to *Tana*, a town now called *Azof*, which at that time belonged to the *Genoese*; and also afterwards, viz. in 1471, to Persia, to *Ussun Hassan* (alias *Assambei*), at that time a Turkomannian prince, of the tribe of the white weather. He was sixteen years among the Tartars, and on his return to his native country, gave an account of both these his expeditions. This relation has been printed in a small and scarce collection, published by *Antonio Minutio*, at *Aldus's* press, at Venice, in 1543, and was afterwards inserted, by *Giovanne Baptista Ramusio*, in his large collection of travels, consisting of three volumes in folio. It is to be also found translated into Latin in the *Scriptores rerum persicarum*, published at Frankfort in 1607. He died at a very advanced age in his native country, in 1494.

The journey to Persia to *Ussun Hassan* containing but few accounts of those parts which are the peculiar objects of our researches, I shall communicate only some short extracts from the first journey to *Tana*, or *Azof*.

Josaphat

Jofaphat Barbaro began his journey to *Tana* in 1436, and explored that country with great assiduity, and spirit of enquiry that does him honour, partly by land, and partly by water, for the space of sixteen years. The plain of Tartary is bounded on the East by the great river *Ledil*, (Wolga) on the West by Poland, on the North by Russia, and on the South by the *Great* (or Black) *Sea*, *Alania*, *Kumania*, and *Gazaria*, which all together border on the sea of *Tabacke* (Zabachi from *Tschaback-Denghiffi*, i. e. the *Brachfen Sea*). *Alania* has its name from the people called *Alani*, who in their own language call themselves *As*. They were Christians, and their country had been ravaged and laid waste by the Tartars (i. e. the Mogols). This province contains mountains, rivers, and plains, in which latter are found many hills made by the hands of men, and serving for sepulchral monuments; on the top of each of them is a large stone with a hole in it, in which they fix a cross, which is likewise made of a piece of stone. These sepulchral monuments are innumerable; and it is said, that sometimes there are great treasures buried in them. But it is 110 years since the religion of Mahomet was introduced amongst the Tartars (or rather Mogols); before that period, indeed, there were some Mahometans here, but, at the same time, every one was permitted to follow whatever religion he pleased. In consequence of this some worshipped wooden images, and idols of fir, which they carried about with them on their carts; but the compulsion to the Mahometan religion takes its date from the time of *Hedigbi* (alias Edigi, and Jedighei), who was a general of the Tartarian Emperor *Sidabameth Khan*. This *Hedigbi* was the father of *Naurus*, of whom *Jofaphat* relates, that in his days *Ulu-Mahumeth* (i. e. the great Mahomet) was *Khan*. But this *Naurus* happening to have some misunderstanding with the Emperor, went with the Tartars that adhered to him, to the river *Ledil* (i. e. the Wolga), where there was
one

one of the Emperor's relations called *Kbezi Mahameth*, i. e. little Mahomet. These two resolved to wage war against *Ulu Mahameth*: Accordingly they marched by *Giterchan* (or Astrakhan) and through the plains of *Tumen* (i. e. the great Desert extending between the Wolga and the Don, quite to the Caucasus), close to *Circassia*, and turned off to the river *Tana* (or Don) and to the sea *Tabache* (Tschabaki), which was frozen over, as was the river *Tana*. They marched in different parties, and at a considerable distance from each other, in order to find food for their cattle; so that some of them crossed the Don at a place called *Palasra*, while others crossed this river where it was covered with ice, near *Bosagaz*, which two places are at the distance of 120 miles from each other. They came upon *Ulu-Mahameth* so unexpectedly, that he fled with his wife and children, and left every thing in confusion behind him; when *Kbezi-Mahomed* became Emperor in his stead, and in the month of June crossed the Don again.

Going from *Tana* west-wards, along the coast of the sea of *Tabache* to the left, and then for some distance along the Great (or Black) Sea, quite to the province of *Mengleria* (or Mingrelia); one arrives after three days journey along the sea, at the province of *Chremuch* (otherwise *Kremuk*, and *Kromuk*), the sovereign of which is called *Bi-perdi*, i. e. *Deodati*, given by God; and his son is called *Chertibei* (or *Khertibey*), i. e. the true and real Lord. He is in possession of a beautiful country, adorned with fertile fields, a great number of fine woods, and considerable rivers. He can raise about a thousand horse. The great people of this country live on plundering the caravans. Their horses are good, the people themselves valiant, and very artful; they have nothing strange in their appearance. This country abounds in corn, as also in meat and honey; but produces no wine. Beyond this province are others, which have a different language, and are not far from each other, viz. 2. *Elipebe* (Chippiche, Kippike)

3. *Tatarkofia*

3. *Tatarkofia* (otherwise *Tatakofia*, *Titarcossa*, *Tatartofia*, *Tatartupia*), 4. *Sobai*, 5. *Chenertbei* (otherwise *Cheuerthei*, *Khewerthei*, *Kharbatei*, *Khabarthei*, *Khabarda*), 6. *As*, i. e. the *Alani*. These provinces extend for the space of 12 days journey quite to *Mengleria* (*Mingrelia*). This *Mingrelia* borders on the *Kaitacchi* (or *Chaitaki*) who live about the *Caspian Mountains*, partly also near *Giorgiania*, and on the shores of the *Black Sea*, and on the range of mountains which extends into *Circassia*. On one side it is encompassed also by the river *Phasus*, which empties itself into the *Black Sea*. The sovereign of this province is called *Bendian* (*Dadian*), and is in possession of two fortifications near the sea, the one of which is called *Vatbi* (*Badias*), and the other *Savastopoli* (otherwise *Sabaftopoli*, also *Isguriah*, or *Dioskuriass*); and besides these, he has several other castles and fortified rocks. The whole country is stony and barren, and produces no other kind of corn than millet. They get their salt from *Kaffe*. They manufacture some dark stuffs, and are a beastly people. In this country, white is called *Tetarti*, and properly signifies silver coin; in like manner the Greeks call silver coin *Aspro*, the Turks *Akeia*, and the inhabitants of *Zagathai*, *Tengb*, all of which signifies white; hence, as well at Venice as in Spain, certain coins are still called *Bianchi*. (This last observation exhibits a surprizing conformity of so many different nations to call one and the same thing by a name of the same, or similar import).

“ Now going from *Tanna* across the river, along the sea of *Tabache*, to the right hand from the mouth of the *Don* quite unto *Kaffa*, one comes to an isthmus which connects the island with the main land, and is called *Zuchala*; similar to that which connects the *Morea* with the continent, and is called *Essimillia*. Here are large salt lakes, in which the salt crystallizes.

“ Going into the peninsula, on the sea of *Tabache*, the first province one comes to is *Kumania*, named thus after the people called *Kumarians*.

Then

follows the chief province, which is called *Gazzaria* (Chazaria) where also *Kaffa* is. The ell (pico), by which in those parts, and even in *Tana*, every thing is measured, is called, from this country, the Gazzarian ell (*pico de Gazzaria*).

“ The low country of the Island of *Kaffa* is governed by Tartars, who have a sovereign called *Ulubi*, the son of *Azicharei*. They are able, in case of need, to bring into the field three or four thousand horse. They possess two walled, but not strong, places; the one, *Sorgathi**, (Solgathi), is by them also called *Incremia* (Chirmia), which signifies a fortification; the other, *Cherchiarde***, (Kerkiarde) means, in their language, forty places. On the Island, even on the mouth of the sea of *Tabaccha*, is a town called *Cherz****, (Kerfch, or Kars), which by the Italians was called *Bosphorus Cimmerius*. Then comes *Kaffa*†, *Saldaia*††, (alias Soldadia, Soldaja, more properly Sugdaja, and at present Sudak, or Sudag), *Grafui*†††, (or Grufui) *Cymbalo*‡,

* *Sorgathi* is the place which Abulfeda, previous to this author, had called *Solget*, or *Kirm*; it is at present called *Efkikyrym*, i. e. the Old Citadel.

** *Kerkierda* is the *Kerkri* of Abulfeda, situated on an inaccessible mountain, and signifies, in the Turkish language, forty men. Some call the place *Kyrk*, and the Poles give it the name of *Kirkjel*. This was a castle belonging to the Jews, or Goths, who dwelled in these mountains, and of whom but a short time since there were some traces remaining; they had a language of their own, which contained many words common to it and the German.

*** *Kerz* is even now called *Kerfch*, and was the ancient *Pantikapæum* of the Bosphorian kings, and so early as in Philip of Macedon's time bore the name of Bosphorus. It is the *Ol-Kars* of Abulfeda.

† *Kaffa*, or *Kapba*, is nearly on the same spot, where, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, stood the town of *Theodosia*.

†† *Saldaia* was so early as in Abulfeda's time called *Sudak*, as, indeed, it is at present; it was formerly very famous, and a town of great trade.

††† *Grafui* is a place at present entirely unknown; it, however, probably stood where now, under the denomination of *Krusimusen*, there seem to remain some traces of the name.

‡ *Cimbalo* is certainly *Συμβολων λιμην*, and is the harbour of *Buluklarwa* of the moderns.

(Cimbalo, Symbolon Hormos, or Limen), *Sarsona**, (or Cherson) and *Kalamita*** . All these places are at this present time subject to the Turks.—Farther on from *Kaffa*, in the Island where it is encompassed by the Black Sea, lies *Gothia*, and still farther *Alania*, which is situated without the Island, towards *Moncastro**** . The Goths speak German: I know it from this circumstance, that when the servant whom I had with me, and who was a German, spoke with them, they understood him tolerably well, just as a native of *Furli* in the Pope's dominions might understand a Florentine† .

From

* *Sarson* (otherwise *Sarsonia*, *Scherfon*, and *Schurfchi*) was formerly called *Cherson Frachea*, and the foundations of it were laid almost 600 years before the birth of Christ, by the inhabitants of *Heraclea* in Pontus. It was also called *Chersonesus*, i. e. the Peninsula, for thereby was meant the whole of the Peninsula between this harbour of Cherson, and that of Symbolon, which was entirely inhabited by Greeks. The Russians took the town in the reign of *Wladimir the Great*, and in their ancient annals call it *Korsun*.

** *Kalamita* appears to me to be an adulteration of the word *Klimata*. For all those towns which *Josaphat Barbaro* names, from *Kaffa* to *Cherson*, belonged formerly to the fortified castles and towns called *καστρα των κλιματων*.

*** *Moncastro* is a place at the mouth of the Dniester, which the Turks at this present time call *Ak-kierman*; the Wallachians, *Tschetat Alba*; the Russians, *Belgorod*; the Greeks, *Aspro Kastro*; and the Genoese, 350 years ago, called it *Moncastro*. Now all these different appellations have their origin in the name given to this place by the Romans, who called it *Alba Julia*.

† This circumstance is worthy of observation. *Ruybroeck* had before remarked it, (our Author remarks it too) and so does *Bussbeck*. Father *Mobndorf* met with many of the slaves in the galleys at Constantinople, who were descended from the Goths, and spoke a language very like the German. Now, at this time, when Russia is in possession of the Crimea, it is to be wished, that the few remaining traces of the Gothic language may be inquired after, and particularly, that strict search may be made among the relics of this Gothic people, which must still dwell somewhere in the Crimea. This language would serve to explain and illustrate the few remains we possess of Bishop *Ulfilas*'s translation of the gospel into Gothic; while the names and customs of this people, together with many of their phrases, and peculiar turns of expression, would throw great light on the manners and customs of the ancient Germans. Nay, it is possible, that some families of the first rank among them may have preserved to this day several books, the finding of which would prove a very important discovery indeed. Our ingenious traveller here compares the

difference

From this vicinity between the Goths and Alanians, originates, as I imagine, the name of *Gotitalani*. The *Alanians* were the first inhabitants; the Goths came at a later period, and conquered these countries, and, as the two nations mingled with each other, this mixed name likewise came into use. All these people profess the Greek religion, as do likewise the *Tscherkassians*.

And as I have before made mention of *Tumen* and *Githercan* (which latter is otherwise called Citracan and Astrakhan) I will relate some remarkable circumstances concerning them. Going from *Tumen* eastwards, and to the south-west, seven days journey, one arrives at the river of *Ledil* (otherwise the Erdir, Erdil, Atel, Athol, and Wolga) on the banks of which is situated *Githercan*, a little, insignificant town (*terrazuola, terriciola*) laid waste, as it were, and in ruins. Formerly it was very considerable and celebrated; as before the devastation of it by Tamerlane, the spices and silks, which go to Syria, were carried by *Githercan*, and so to Tana, from whence they were fetched, by six or seven large galleys, to Venice; for at that time no other nation besides Venice traded to Syria. The *Edil* is a large and very broad river, which discharges itself into the sea of *Baku*, 25 Italian miles below *Githercan*. Both in this sea and in the river, innumerable fish are taken. In this sea (which is likewise tolerably salt) there is a great number of fish, like Tunnies (*Morone*) and sturgeons (*Scbenali*). One may sail up this river to within three days journey from *Musco* (Moscow, or Moskwa) in *Russia*. The inhabitants of *Musco* go with their ships every year to *Githercan* to fetch salt: and down to this

difference between the language of a Goth of Crimea, and that of a German, to the difference between the dialect of the inhabitants of *Furli* in the Pope's dominions, who train out their words in the pronunciation to a great length, and that of the Florentines, who speak from the throat; both which people, though they are near neighbours, yet speak very different dialects, but at the same time are able to comprehend each other.

place the passage is easy, as the river *Mosco* runs into the *Occa*, and this again into the *Erdil*. In this river there are a great many islands and forests; some of the islands are 30 miles in circumference, and the woods contain trees of such a size, that one of them, when hollowed out, will make a boat, which will take eight or ten horses, and twice as many men to draw it. Crossing the river, and going 15 days journey to the north-west of *Mosco*, along the same river, one meets with innumerable hordes of Tartars. But, if one travels to the northward, and reaches the confines of Russia, one arrives at a small town called *Risan* (or *Rezan*) which belongs to a relation of the Grand Duke of Russia, John. The inhabitants of it are all Christians, and follow the usages of the Greek Church. The country abounds in corn, flesh, honey, and other good things. They likewise import *Bossa** here, which is a kind of beer. In this country there are woods and villages in great number. Somewhat farther still, is a town called *Câ-lona* (or *Colonna*). The fortifications of both places are made of wood, of which materials likewise all the houses are built, as nothing is seen in these parts built of stone or bricks. Three days journey farther on is the province of *Mosco*, where John, Duke of Russia, resides. Through this province runs the river *Mosco* (*Moskwa*, or *Moscow*) which in several places has bridges over it, and from which in all probability the country takes its name. The castle is situated on a hill, and is encompassed round about with woods. The fertility of the country with respect to corn and flesh, may be understood, from this circumstance, that flesh is not sold by weight, but they give it out in large pieces, as much as would weigh four pounds. Seventy hens may be bought for a ducat, (from four to five shillings each,

* At this present time they have in Russia an inebriating liquor, prepared from millet, which is called *Busa*, and is very heady. This probably is what is meant here by our author.

though the value varies in Italy according to the different provinces) and a goose is worth three marketti or little marks (i. e. somewhat less than a penny). It is very cold in this country, so that even the river freezes over. In winter they carry to market oxen and other beasts, ready slaughtered, and with their entrails taken out, and set them on their feet, which are frozen as hard as a stone, in such numbers, that if any one chose to buy up 200 of them, it might easily be done; as to cutting them up, it is impossible, for being as hard as marble, they are delivered out whole. As to fruit, one meets with none, except a few apples, nuts, and small walnuts. When they have a mind to travel from one place to another, especially when the distance is very great, they travel in winter, as at that time every thing is frozen: they then travel very comfortably, excepting the inconveniences arising from the cold. At this season of the year they take with them on their *Sani* (or sledges, which are to them what our waggons are to us) every thing they have a mind, with the greatest ease. In summer, when it is very dirty, and there are large clods on the road, a circumstance which proceeds from the country being extremely woody, and for that reason, in a great measure, uninhabitable, they do not venture to take long journies. They have no grapes, but make a kind of wine from honey, or a species of beer from millet, in which beer they put hop-blossoms (*fiori di bruscandoli*) of which the odour is so powerful as to occasion sneezing, and which intoxicate like wine. And here I cannot pass over unnoticed what the Grand Duke did, on finding that his subjects were such drunkards, and, in consequence of their drunkenness, neglected business of every kind; as indeed he took in hand many other things for their service. He gave orders, in fact, that no more beer should be brewed, nor mead made, nor hops used, by which means he obliged them to lead sober and regular lives. This happened about 25 years ago.

Before

Before this period the Russians paid tribute to the Emperor of Tartary ; but now they have conquered a country, called *Kasan*, which signifies *Kettle*, and is situated at the distance of five miles from Moscow. This country lies to the left of the river *Ledil* (or Wolga) as one goes to the sea of *Bochri* (or Bakhu). This country has a considerable trade, and a great quantity of furs is got from thence, which are carried by way of Moscow to Poland, Prussia, and Flanders. These furs come from the north-east, at a great distance, out of the empire of *Zagathai**, and from *Moxia***, which northern districts are inhabited by Tartars, part of whom are idolaters, as are the *Moxians* to this day.

Now as I have some accounts concerning the Moxians, I shall relate what I know of their religion and situation. At a certain time they are wont to take a horse, which they lead into the midst of their assembly, and bind its four feet to an equal number of stakes, likewise his head to a stake driven into the earth. Upon this, one of them takes his bow and arrow, and places himself at a considerable distance, and shoots at the heart of the animal, till he has killed him. After that he fleas him, and stuffs the skin. But the flesh they eat, after having performed certain ceremonies with it. The skin they stuff with straw, and sew it together, so as to make it appear entire ; and stick strait pieces of wood through the skin that covered the legs, so that the creature may seem to stand on its legs just as it did when alive.

* *Zagathai* was the name of one of the sons of *Zinghis Khan* ; and as that part of the empire fell to his share, which comprehended *Turkestan*, *Marwaraluchara*, and *Kuarefm*, in the sequel these provinces were called the empire of *Zagathai*.

** *Moxia* is the country of the *Merduanians*, part of whom give themselves the name of *Mokschas*.

Lastly,

Lastly, they cut the branches of a large tree, and making a stage on the top of it, set the horse upon it; when they worship it, and offer up to it fables, ermins, grey squirrels (*vari*) and foxes, which they hang on the tree (just as we offer up wax-lights to the saints) in such a guise, that the tree is hung all round with these furs. The food of this people consists in a great measure of flesh, and that chiefly venison; and likewise of fish, which they catch in the rivers; and so much for the Moxians. Of the Tartars, I have nothing farther to observe, than that many of them are idolaters, who carry the idols which they worship about in their carts: sometimes one meets with those who are accustomed to worship each day the animal that meets them first, when they go out of their houses.

The Grand Duke has likewise taken *Nowgorod*, which signifies *Newcastle*. It is an extensive district, which is eight days journey to the north-west of Moscow. It was formerly governed by the people. The inhabitants were people without any sense and reason, and had a great many heretics among them: but at present the Catholic faith makes its way by degrees, though even now some believe, and others not: in the mean time, however, they lead more rational lives, and justice is properly administered.

In going from Moscow to Poland, it is 22 days journey ere one reaches the latter. The first place one meets with in Poland is a fortified place called *Trocki**; but one cannot get thither otherwise than by travelling through woods and over hills, as it lies in a desert. There are, it is true, fire-places from place to place, where the inns are bespoke before-hand, in which travellers may, if they please, rest themselves awhile, and make a fire. Sometimes, though extremely seldom indeed, one meets with a small hamlet a little way

* *Trocki* is likewise called *Trozki*, and is a well-known town in Lithuania, in the neighbourhood of *Wilna*.

out of the road. Going from *Trocki*, farther on, one meets with more hills and woods; there are, however, some habitations, and nine days journey from *Trocki* is a fortified place called *Loniri* (or *Lonin* *). After this one comes into ** Lithuania, where one meets with a district called *Varsonich* ***, which belongs to certain Lords, who are subject to *Kazimir*, King of Poland. The country is fertile, and contains a great many walled towns and villages, but none of any great importance. From *Trocki* it is seven days journey to Poland, and the country is good and beautiful. Here one meets with *Merfaga* †, a tolerable good town, and here ends Poland, concerning the towns and provinces of which country I shall say nothing farther, for want of proper intelligence, excepting that the King, together with his sons and his whole household, are very good Christians, and that the eldest of the Princes is the present King of Bohemia.

Travelling four days more, we got out of Poland, and reached *Frankfort*, a city which belongs to the Margrave of Brandenburg. We were now in Germany; but I shall say nothing of this country, as it is a place where we are, as it were, at home, and with which besides most people are well acquainted.

Now

* Of *Loniri*, or *Lonin*, I have not the least knowledge; I am therefore apt to imagine that we should read *Slonym*, which was formerly a place of great note, and used to be a duchy allotted to the appenaged Princes of the Grand-Ducal House of Lithuania.

** Here we must read *out of*, not *in* Lithuania; for *Warsaw* is not in this province, but in *Masuria*, or *Masovia*.

*** By *Varsonich* in all probability is meant the city of *Warsaw*.

† Of *Merfaga* it is not easy to determine the situation; though I am apt to conclude, from its situation on the borders of Poland towards the Brandenburg territories and the neighbourhood of Frankfort on the Oder, that by it *Meserix*, or *Miedzyrzycz*, must be meant. In the mean time, with respect to these three last-mentioned names of places in Poland, the situation of which I have endeavoured to investigate in the notes, I have been several times struck with the reflection, that in the explication of the names of these places, which, as Josephat Barbaro says, are situated in countries with which we are well acquainted, there appears less certainty and less degree of probability, than in the explication of the names of those places that lie in much more unknown regions; and indeed I myself have received less satisfaction from them. May not the greater progress

Now we must say somewhat concerning *Giorgiania*, which lies directly opposite to the last-mentioned places, and borders upon *Mongrelia* (Mingrelia). The King of the province is called *Pancratius*. He is the Sovereign of a delightful country, which produces bread, wine, flesh, corn, and other fruits of the earth in great abundance. They make a great quantity of wine on the trees, as in *Trebisfonde*. The people are very handsome and well made; but they have most horrid manners and the worst customs of any people I ever met with. Their heads are shaved, excepting some few hairs, all around, which they suffer to remain, in the same manner as it is practised by our Abbots, who have a good income. They wear whiskers above six inches long. On their heads they wear a cap of various different colours, with a feather at top. They cover their bodies with a tolerably long, though strait jacket, which is cloven behind quite up to the loins, for otherwise they could not mount their horses; in which respect I do not blame them, as I see that the French wear the same. On their feet and ancles they wear boots, the soles of which are made in such a manner that when the wearers stand upright on their feet, the toes and heels touch the ground. But in the middle they are so high from the ground, that one may thrust one's fist under the sole, without hurting one's self, and thence, when they walk, they do it with difficulty. I should blame them for this, did I not know that they wear the same in Persia. At their meals these people have the following custom, agreeable to what I saw in the house of one of their great men. They have a quadrangular table, half an ell over, with a rim to it. In the middle of it they set a heap of boiled millet without salt, and without any fat or other addition to it; this they

progress made in point of cultivation in such countries as are more known and occupied by civilized and Christian nations be the cause, that we are not able at present to recognize these places mentioned 400 years ago.

use instead of sauce. On another similar table they place, over coals, some wild boar's flesh, which is so little roasted, that the blood runs out, when they cut into it; and of this they are very fond. I, for my part, could not touch it, and so took up with a little millet. There was wine in abundance, and it went round the table with great hospitality. Other provisions we had not.

In this country there is a great number of large woods and mountains. There is in it a district called *Zifilis* (Tiflis) beside which runs a river named *Tigris** (or Tygris): this is a very good country, but thinly inhabited. It has likewise still a fortification †, *Gori* (Gonieh) which lies towards the Black Sea.

This is what I have to relate concerning my journey to *Tanna*, the countries in that part of the world, and the events that are worth mentioning.

§ XIII. The family of the *Zenos*, in Venice, is very ancient, and is not only of the highest rank of nobility, but is likewise celebrated for the performance of great actions, as also by reason that the highest offices and dignities in the state had been filled from time immemorial, by men of merit belonging to this family. About the year 1200, *Marin Zeno* assisted in making the conquest of Constantinople, and he was *Podestà*, or Governor of that place about the year 1205. He had a son named *Pietro Zeno*, who was the father of *Rinieri Zeno*, who, in 1282, was Duke or Doge of Venice, and governed it for the space of 17 years, and carried on a war against the Genoese with great success. He adopted his brother *Marco's* son *Andrea*, who was afterwards

* It is not the *Tigris* which runs by the side *Tiflis*, or *Tbiliff*, but rather the *Kur*, or the *Kyrus* of the ancients, and the *Mrkvari* of the Georgians.

† Not far from *Tiflis*, and to the westward of it there is a place called *Gori*; but this is still at a considerable distance from the Black Sea. *Gonieh* lies on the shores of this sea. There is likewise the province of *Guria*, situated between the *Phaséb* and the *Bathum* (or Bathys).

Captain-General of the Venetian fleet, fitted out against the Genoese. His son, *Rinieri II.* was the father of *Pietro*, who, in 1362, was Captain-General of the state in the league of the Christians against the Turks, and had the surname of *Dracone*, from the dragon which he bore in his shield. He had three sons, viz. *Carlo Leone*, *Nicolo il Cavaliere*, and *Antonio*. Of these *Carlo Leone* was Procurator and Captain-General of the Republic, and rescued her from imminent danger in a war, in which the power of almost all Europe was joined against her. The second son, *Nicolo*, was a Knight, and having shewn great valour in the last-mentioned war of *Chioggia* with the Genoese, he had a strong desire to travel, in order that, by getting acquainted with the manners and languages of foreign nations, he might render himself still more useful to his country, and acquire to himself credit and honour. With this view (being a man of great property) he fitted out a ship at his own expence, and sailed through the straits of Gibraltar to the northwards, with an intention to visit England and Flanders; but, by a storm that lasted several days, the vessel was at length cast away on the coast of *Friesland* (*Frislanda*); the crew, however, were saved, with great part of the cargo. This happened in the year 1380; nevertheless they were soon attacked by the natives, against whom they were hardly able, weary and weather-beaten as they were, to defend themselves. But, fortunately for them, the reigning Prince of *Porland* (*Porlanda*) by name *Ziebmni*, who was at that time in *Friesland*, hearing of their misfortune, came with all speed to give them his assistance, of which indeed they stood at that juncture in great need. After discoursing some time with them in Latin, finding that *Nicolo Zeno* was very expert both in naval and martial affairs, he gave him the post of Admiral of his whole fleet, which the latter, however, at first refused. *Nicolo* not long afterwards wrote to his brother

ther Antonio, inviting him to come to Friesland, who accordingly soon arrived there, and lived four years with him, and afterwards ten more with Prince Zichmni alone. The whole of this relation was written by *Francisco Marcolini*, having been extracted by him from the letters sent by *Antonio Zeno* to his eldest brother *Carlo*: in it he laments, that these writings having fallen into his hands in his earliest youth, he had (child like) torn them, and afterwards, finding them to be of great consequence, he had collected together what remained of them, and put them into order, in order that a discovery of so much importance might not be entirely forgotten.

This is the account given of the affair by *Ramusio*, Vol. II. p. 232, fol. 2. From the manuscript relation of *Marcolini*, others have, it seems, extracted the accounts which they have given of this discovery, and though these relations have very much the air of the marvellous, yet it is evident, that upon the whole there is every reason to suppose them authentic: and as it may be farther objected, that the countries mentioned in them no longer exist, we intend, towards the conclusion of this relation, to expatiate on this topic, and not only to give a sufficient reason for what we shall advance, but likewise answer every objection that may be made.

Nicolo Zeno having been shipwrecked in 1380 on the island of *Friesland*, in consequence of their having been overtaken by a tempest, and likewise having been saved by Prince *Zichmni* from the rude attacks of the inhabitants, put himself, with all his men, under the protection of this Prince, who was Lord of certain small islands which lay to the south of Friesland, which were called *Porland*, and were the most fertile and populous of all the islands thereabouts. He was besides this, Duke of *Sorany*, a place which lies over against Scotland. Of these northern

thern parts, I (i. e. Antonio Zeno) have drawn up a chart, which hangs up in my house, and although it be much decayed by time, may serve to give some insight to the curious in these matters.

Zichmni, the Lord of all these countries, was a man of great courage, and famous for his skill in navigation. The year before *Nicolo's* arrival there (viz. A. D. 1379 *) he had defeated the King of Norway (*Hakon*) in a pitched battle, and was now come with his forces to conquer *Friesland*, which is much larger than *Iceland*. On account of the knowledge *Nicolo Zeno* had of maritime affairs, the Prince took him and all his crew on board the fleet, and gave it in charge to his Admiral to treat him with the highest respect, and to ask his advice in every affair of importance.

Zichmni's fleet consisted of thirteen vessels, of which two only were

* Though this *Friesland*, together with *Porland* and *Sorany*, appear to be countries which have been swallowed up by the sea in consequence of earthquakes and other great revolutions in the above-mentioned element, yet I cannot help communicating in this place a conjecture, which has struck me whilst I was employed on this subject. Precisely in this same year 1379, *Hakon*, King of Norway, invested with the Orkneys, a person of the name of *Henry Sinclair*, who was one of the descendants in the female line from the ancient Earls of Orkney. This name of *Sinclair* appears to me to be expressed by the word *Zichmni*. The appellation of *Faira*, *North Fara*, *South Fara*, or *Fara's Land*, have probably given rise to that of *Friesland*. *Porland* must be the *Fara Islands* (the *Far-ver*, or *Farland*) and *Sorany* is the *Soderoe*, or *Soreona*; i. e. the western islands. Add to this, that the names of the *Sbetland* Islands correspond with many of those conquered by *Zichmni* in *Estland*: *Bras* is indubitably *Brassa Sound*, *Talas* appears to be *Yell*, or *Zeal*, *Brons* is *Brassa*, *Isfant* is *Unst*, *Trans* is probably *Trondra*, and still more similitudes of this kind affording yet greater foundation for these conjectures. Nay, the amazing quantity of fish that was caught yearly off the Orkneys, or, according to *Zeno's* account, off *Friesland*, and with which *Flanders*, *Britania*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Norway*, and *Denmark* were supplied, and the inhabitants of *Friesland* greatly enriched, relates doubtless to the herrings that are caught here every year in great abundance. *Iceland* was too powerful for *Sinclair* (or *Zichmni*) to conquer. *Nicolo Zeno* visited likewise *East Greenland*. But *Estotiland* and *Drogio*, which were discovered afterwards, appear to be some country that lies to the southward of Old *Greenland*. Perhaps *Newfoundland*, or *Winland*, where some Normans had settled previous to this, wholikewise, in all probability, had brought with them from Europe the Latin books which were at this time in the King's library there.

rowed with oars; the rest were small barks, and only one of them was a ship. With all these they sailed to the westwards, and, without much difficulty, made themselves masters of *Ledovo* and *Ilofe**, and divers other smaller islands; and turning into a bay called *Sudero*, in the haven of the town named *Sanestol*, they took several small barks laden with fish**; and here they found *Zichmni*, who came by land with his army, conquering all the country as he went. They stayed here but a short time, and shaped their course to the westwards till they came to the other cape of the gulph or bay, and here turning again, they found certain islands and broken lands, all which they brought under subjection to *Zichmni*. These seas were in a manner nothing but shoals and rocks, insomuch, that if *Nicolo Zeno*, and the Venetian mariners, had not been their pilots, the whole fleet, in the opinion of all that were in it, had been cast away, so small was the skill of *Zichmni*'s men, in respect of ours, who had been trained up in the art and practice of navigation from their childhood. Now the fleet having done as we have just before mentioned, the Admiral, by the advice of *Nicolo Zeno*, determined to go ashore, at a town called *Bondendan*, with a view to get intelligence what success *Zichmni* had in his wars; where they heard,

* It is hardly possible to mention all the little islands, and the places situated on the largest of the Orcadian islands, which by the ancients was called *Pomona*, and, on account of its size, bore likewise the name of *Mainland*, also of *Hrofs-ey*, i. e. *Grofs-ey*, the Great Island. The town had the name of *Kirkiuvog*, or the Harbour near the Church, and is at this time called by the Scots *Kirkwall*.

** This a very early mention made of salted fish, but yet within the life-time of William Beuckels John, the supposed inventor of the art of pickling herrings, who died in 1397. But Professor Sprengel has shewn, that herrings were caught at *Germemve*, i. e. Yarmouth) so early as in the year 1283; nay, in *Leland's Collect.* Vol. III. p. 173, we meet with a proof that pickled herrings were sold in 1273; and there are extant German records which speak of them so early as in 1236. Vid. *Gerken Codex Diplomat. Brandenburg.* T. I. p. 45. T. II. p. 431.

to their great satisfaction, that he had won a great battle and put to flight the army of his enemy; in consequence of which the inhabitants sent Ambassadors from all parts of the island to yield the country up into his hands, taking down their flags and ensigns in every town and castle; they therefore thought good to stay in that place for his coming, it being reported for certain that he would be there very shortly. At his coming there were great congratulations and rejoicings, as well for the victory by land, as for that by sea; for which the Venetians were honoured and extolled in all parts, insomuch that there was no conversation but of them, and of the great prowess of *Nicolo Zeno*: the Prince, on his part, caused Nicolò to be brought before him, and, after having bestowed the highest commendations upon him, and in particular praised his great valour and naval knowledge, by which two things he acknowledged that he had received an inestimable benefit, such as the saving of his fleet and the taking of many towns without any great difficulty, he knighted him, and rewarded his men with many rich and liberal presents. Then, departing thence, they went in triumph towards *Friesland*, the chief city of that island, situated on the south-east side of it, within a gulph, of which there are many in the island. In this gulph, or bay, there are such great quantities of fish taken, that many ships are laden with them to serve *Flanders, Britania, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark*, which brings great riches into the country.

This was the contents of a letter sent by *Nicolo Zeno* to his brother *Antonio*, in which he invited him to come to him to *Friesland*; accordingly the latter set sail, and after having past many dangers, arrived at his brother's. *Antonio* staid in *Friesland* fourteen years in all, ten years alone, and four years with his brother *Nicolo*, who ingratiated himself so much in the Prince's favour, that this latter made him Admiral

miral of the fleet sent out on the expedition to *Eßland*, which lies between *Frießland* and *Norway*. Here they committed great ravages; but hearing that the King of Norway was coming towards them with a considerable fleet, they departed in haste, the wind blowing with such violence that they were driven upon certain shoals, where a great part of their ships was cast away; the rest were saved upon *Grißland*, a large island, but uninhabited. The King of Norway's fleet was overtaken by the same storm, and perished. Of this Zichmni was apprized by one of the enemy's ships which, as well as they, was cast away upon the coast of *Grißland**; when, after having repaired his own fleet, perceiving that he had been driven so far northwards, he resolved to make an attack upon Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway; but finding it too well fortified and defended, and reflecting that his fleet was both small and ill equipped, he was glad to retire. He therefore fell upon the other islands, of which there are seven in number, viz. *Talas* (Zeal) *Broas* (Brassa Sound) *Ißcant* (Unst or Vuft) *Trans* (Trondra) *Mimant*, *Dambert*, and *Bres* (Brassa) all of which he plundered, and built a fort in *Bres*, where he left Nicolo Zeno with several small barks, men and ammunition, while he himself went back to Frießland. In the spring Nicolo Zeno resolved to go out on discoveries; and having fitted out three small ships, he set sail in July, and shaping his course to the northwards, arrived in *Engroveland* (Engroneland, Groenland, or Greenland) where he found a monastery of Predicant Friars, and a church, dedicated to St. Thomas, hard by a mountain that threw out fire like *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*.

They have here a spring of boiling hot water with which they heat the church, the monastery, and the Friars chambers. It comes likewise so very hot into the kitchen, that they use no fire for dressing their

* *Grißland* seems to be the name of the island, which lies in the neighbourhood of Iceland to the eastward, and is by the moderns called *Enkbuizen*.

victuals;

victuals; and putting their bread into brass pots without any water, it is baked as though it was in a hot oven. They have also small gardens covered over in winter, which gardens being watered with this water, are defended from the snow and cold, that in these regions, situated so near the Pole, is extremely great. In this manner they produce flowers, fruits, and different kinds of herbs, just as they grow in temperate climates; so that the rude savages of those parts, seeing these supernatural effects, take these Friars for Gods, and bring them divers presents, such as hens (*Polli*, these, however, can have been nothing else than *Ptarmagans*) flesh (viz. of rein-deer) and various other things; besides this they reverence the Monks as their Lords. When the frost and snow is considerable, they heat their houses in the manner above mentioned; and by letting in the water, or opening their windows, are able in an instant to temper the heat at their pleasure. In the buildings of their monastery they use no other matter than what is presented to them by this fire; for they take the burning stones that are cast out, in the form of sparks or cinders, at the fiery mouth of the mountain, and when they are at the hottest throw water on them, by which means they are entirely dissolved, and are converted into a very good lime, which is so binding, that when it is used in building, it lasts for ever; and the very sparkles, when cold, serve instead of stones to make their walls and vaults, for when they are once cold, they cannot be broken, except indeed they be cut with some iron tool; and the vaults that are made of them are so light, that they need no prop to hold them up, but continue always whole and entire. On account of these great conveniencies, the Friars have made so many walls and buildings of different kinds, that it is really wonderful to see them. The coverings or roofs of their houses are for the most part made in the following manner: First, they carry the wall up to its full height, and then they make it inclining or bending in by little

and little, till it forms a regular vault. But indeed they are not much troubled with rain in that country; for the climate being, as I have said before, extremely cold, the first snow that falls does not thaw for the space of nine months, at which time their winter ends.

They live on wild fowl and fish; for in consequence of the warm water running into the sea, in a large and wide haven, which, by reason of the heat of the water, never freezes, there is so great a concourse in this place of sea fowl and fish, that they take as many of them as they can possibly have occasion for, with which they maintain a great number of people round about, whom they keep continually employed, both in building and in taking of fowls and fish, as well as in a thousand other necessary occupations and affairs relative to the monastery.

Their houses are built about the hill on every side, of a round form, and 25 feet in width; as they go upwards they are made narrower and narrower, a little hole at the top being left for the air and the light to enter at; and the floor of the house is so hot, that those who are in the house feel no cold at all. Hither in the summer time come many barks from the neighbouring islands, and from the cape above Norway, and from *Trondon* (or Drontheim) and bring the Fathers all kinds of commodities and merchandize, according to what they wish for, taking in exchange fish (which they dry either in the sun or else by means of the cold) and the skins of divers beasts; for which they have wood for fuel, and wooden utensils very ingeniously carved; together with corn, and cloth to make their clothes with. For all the nations around them are very desirous of bartering with them for these two commodities, so that the Monks have all they can desire without either pains or cost. To this monastery resort Monks from *Norway* and *Sweden*, and from other countries, but principally from *Iceland*. Here is continually a great number of barks which cannot get away

by

by reason of the sea being frozen over, but wait for the spring of the year, to dissolve the ice. The fishers boats have the form of a weaver's shuttle. They are made of fish bones, cased over with the skins of fishes; these they sew together in many doubles, and by this means make them so tight and substantial, that it is surprizing to see how they will in storms bind themselves fast within them, and let the winds and waves carry them they care not whither, without any fear either of their boats splitting or of themselves being drowned: and if they happen to be driven upon a rock, still they remain sound without the least hurt or damage. They likewise have a kind of sleeve at the bottom, which is always tied fast in the middle; and when there comes any water into the boat, they let it run into one half of the sleeve, then fastening the end of the sleeve with two pieces of wood, and loosing the band beneath, they convey the water out of the boat; and this operation they repeat as often as is necessary, without the least danger or hindrance.

Farther, the water of the monastery, being of a sulphureous nature, is conveyed into the cells of the principal Friars, by means of copper, tin, or stone pipes, so hot, that it heats the place like a stove, without carrying along with it any disagreeable or unwholesome stench.

Besides this, they convey fresh water, fit for drinking, in a walled canal under ground, in order that it may not freeze, into the middle of the court, where it falls into a large copper vessel, which stands in a reservoir of boiling hot water; and by this means they heat the water for their own drinking and for watering their gardens. So that from this mountain they have every possible convenience; and thus these good Friars make it their chief study and business to keep their gardens in order, and to erect commodious and elegant buildings;

neither do they want for good workmen, and ingenious artizans; for they give great wages, and to those that carry them fruits and seeds they are bountiful beyond measure; so that there is a great resort of workmen and artists of every denomination, as there are great profits to be made, and provision is very cheap. Most of these Monks speak Latin, and particularly the superiors and principals of the monastery.

And this is as much as is known of *Engroveland* (Engroneland, Groenland, or Greenland) from the relation of *Nicolo Zeno*, who gives likewise a particular description of a river that he discovered, as is to be seen in the chart that I (viz. Antonio Zeno) have drawn. *Nicolo*, not being able to bear the severe cold of these northern climates, fell sick; and a little while after returned to Friesland, where he died. He left behind him two sons, one of whom was named *John*, and the other *Thomas*, which latter likewise had two sons, *Nicolo*, the father of the celebrated *Cardinal Zeno*, and *Peter*, from whom are descended the rest of the Zenos, who are now living.

After the death of *Nicolo*, his fortune, as well as his dignity and honours, devolved upon *Antonio*; and though he made great supplications and entreaties for the purpose, yet he was not permitted to return to his native country: for *Zichmni*, being a man of a high spirit and great valour, had resolved to make himself master of the sea. For this end he made use of the talents and advice of Antonio, and ordered him to go with a few barks to the westward; as in the summer several islands had been discovered in those seas by some of his fishermen. Of this discovery *Antonio* gives a description in a Letter to his brother *Carlo*, which we here give just as it was written, having made no other alteration in it than that of a few antiquated (Italian) words. (Letter III.)

“Six and twenty years ago four fishing-boats, which had been overtaken by a violent storm, were tossed to and fro in a terrible manner on the sea, for the space of a great many days; when, at length, the
tempest

tempest ceasing, and the weather growing fair, they discovered an island called *Estotiland*, which lay above a thousand miles to the westward of Friesland. One of the boats, with six men in it, was cast away on this island, and the men were immediately taken by the inhabitants, and conducted to a fine and populous city, where the King of the place was, who sent for various interpreters, but none could be found, who understood the fishermen's language, excepting one, that spoke Latin. This man, who had in like manner been cast by accident on the same island, asked them, on the part of the King, of what country they were; and, having been made acquainted with their case, informed the King of it, who, upon this, ordered that they should stay in the country: these orders they obeyed, as indeed they could not do otherwise, and stayed in that country five years, and learned the language of it; one of them indeed was in various different parts of the island, and affirms, that it is a very rich country, abounding with every commodity and convenience of life; that it is little less than Iceland, but much more fertile, having in the middle of it a very high mountain, from which spring four rivers, that pass through the whole country.

“The inhabitants are a very ingenious and sensible people, and have arts of every kind, and handicrafts, as we have; and it is highly probable that formerly they have had some traffic with our Europeans; for he says, that he saw some Latin books in the King's library, which at present they do not understand; for they have a language of their own, and letters and characters peculiar to themselves*. They trade with

* In Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Vol. III. p. 124, it is added, “They have mines of all manner of metals, but especially they abound with gold.” This passage, however, is not to be found in the Italian original of Ramusio.

[From many circumstances it appears that Hakluyt's Collection was made principally with a view to excite his countrymen to prosecute new discoveries in America, and to promote the trade

with *Engroneland*, and get from thence furs, brimstone, and pitch. To the south of them there lies a very large and populous country, which abounds greatly in gold. They sow corn, and make beer (*cervosa*) a liquor which is drank by the people of the North, as wine is by us. They have large and extensive woods; they make their buildings with walls, and have a great number of towns and castles. They build ships, and navigate the sea; but they have not the loadstone, and know nothing of the use of the compass: on which account these fishermen were held in high estimation, insomuch that the King sent them with twelve ships to the southward, to a country called *Drogio*. In their voyage thither they had such contrary weather, that they thought they must have perished in the sea; but, escaping that dreadful kind of death, they met with another still more terrible; for they were taken prisoners in the country, and were most of them devoured by the savages, who feed on mens flesh, esteeming it the most delicious of all food. But this fisherman, with his comrades, shewing them the way to take fish with nets, saved their lives; and would go every day to the sea and the fresh rivers, and catch great quantities of fish, and give it to the principal people of the country; by which means he got into so great favour, that he was beloved and highly respected by every body.

“ The fame of this man being spread abroad in the country, there was a Lord in those parts, who was very desirous of having him with him, in order to see how he practised his wonderful art of catching fish; insomuch that he made war with the other Lord with whom the fisherman was before; and in the end prevailing, as he was more

so that quarter of the globe. Considering it in this light, and that hardly any thing was thought worthy of notice in that age but mines of silver and mountains of gold, we need not wonder at the interpolation. But the passage itself is to be found in Ortelius. See the same Collection, page 127.] E. T.

powerful and a better warrior, the fisherman was sent to him, with the rest of his company; and for the space of thirteen years that he resided in these parts, he says, that he had been sent in this fashion to more than twenty-five different Lords, as they were continually at war with each other for the possession of him; so that, in wandering about the country in this manner, without any fixed abode, he was perfectly well acquainted with all that region. He says, it is a very extensive country, and, as it were, a new world; but the inhabitants are a rude, unpolished people, without the enjoyment of any convenience of life; for they all go naked, so that they are miserably pinched with the cold; neither have they the sense to cover their bodies with the skins of the beasts which they take in hunting. They are not in possession of any kind of metal, and live by the chase. They carry spears of wood, made sharp at the point, and use bows, the strings of which are made of the skins of beasts. They are a very uncivilized people, and, in the wars they make one with the other, commit dreadful ravages, so as even to devour each other. They have Governors, and laws very different from each other: but farther to the south-west the manners are more civilized, in proportion to the increasing mildness of the climate, inasmuch that one there meets with cities and temples, dedicated to idols, to whom they offer up men in sacrifice, and afterwards eat them. The people, too, in those parts, are not without some degree of knowledge, and make use of gold and silver.

“Now this fisherman, after having resided a great many years among them, purposed, if it were possible, to return to his own country; but his companions, despairing ever to see it again, wished him health and happiness, and staid behind: so, bidding them farewell, he fled through

through the woods, by the way that led to *Drogio*, and was received with great kindness by the Lord that lived near to the place from whence he came, who knew him, and was a great enemy to the other Lord; and thus, going from one Lord to another, with all of whom he was already acquainted, having passed through their hands before, after a long time, and with much difficulty, he arrived at *Drogio*, where he staid three years; when, fortunately hearing of some of the inhabitants, that several small vessels were arrived on the coast (a piece of intelligence which inspired him with great hopes of accomplishing his purpose) he went to the sea-side, and asking them what country they were of, learned, to his unspeakable satisfaction, that they were from *Estotiland*. Upon this he requested that they would take him on board, which they did very willingly; and as he could speak the language of the country, which none of their company could do, they made use of him as their interpreter; and afterwards he made repeated voyages thither in company with them, insomuch that he became very rich; and so, equipping a bark of his own, he returned to *Frießland*, where he made a report to his Lord of the discovery of this wealthy country; and his strange and marvellous account was credited, as every thing he said was confirmed by the testimony of the sailors.

“Accordingly this Lord (i. e. Zichmni) is determined to send me out with a fleet to these parts, and there are so many that desire to make the voyage with us, on account of the novelty and uncommonness of the thing, that I believe we shall be very well manned and fitted out, without any expence to the public in general.”—And this is the tenor of the Letter before mentioned, which I have here set down, in order to give an account of another voyage made by Antonio Zeno, who set sail with a great number of ships and men, though at that time he was not Commander in Chief, as he at first thought to have been, for Zichmni went in person; and upon this subject I have a letter to the following purport:

“ Our great preparation for the voyage to *Eftotiland* was begun in an unlucky hour ; for, three days before our departure, the fisherman died, who was to have been our guide : notwithstanding which, this Lord would not give up the enterprize ; but, instead of the fisherman, took with him for his guides several sailors who had returned with him from the island. And so, shaping our course to the westwards, we discovered several islands, subject to Friesland ; and, after passing by a shoal or two, we arrived at *Ledovo*, where we staid a week to refresh ourselves, and to provide the fleet with necessaries. Departing from hence, we arrived on the first of July off the island of *Ilofe* ; when, the wind being in our favour, we did not stop there, but went farther on. Shortly after, being on the main sea, we were overtaken by so dreadful a tempest, that for the space of eight days we were tossed to and fro by the winds and the waves, without knowing whereabouts we were. By the violence of this storm we lost a great part of our ships ; afterwards the weather proving fair, we collected together the wrecks and shivers of our shattered vessels ; and, having got a good wind, sailed till we descried land to the westward, to which directing our course, we arrived in a good and safe harbour. Here we saw an infinite number of armed men come running furiously to the sea-side, as it were, for the defence of the island. Upon this, Zichmni commanding his men to make signs of peace to them, they sent ten men to us, who could speak ten different languages, none of which, however, we understood, excepting one that was an Iclander. This man being brought before our Prince, and asked, what was the name of the island, by what people it was inhabited, and who governed it, answered, that the land was called *Icaria*, and that all the Kings of it were named *Icari*, after the name of its first King, who, according to them, was the son of *Dædalus*, King of Scotland, who conquered this

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island,

island, and left them his son to be their King, together with those laws by which they still were governed. After this, he sailed farther on; but, being overtaken by a violent storm, was drowned; in memory of which fatal accident they called that sea the *Icarian Sea*, and the Kings of the island *Icari*; and forasmuch as they were contented with the state which God had given them, and did not chuse to make the least alteration in their manners and customs, they would not receive any stranger; and therefore requested of our Prince, that he would not seek to violate those laws which they had received from this their King of glorious memory, and had hitherto duly observed; which, however, should he attempt, it would turn out to his manifest destruction, as they were absolutely resolved rather to lose their lives than give up their laws. Nevertheless, that we might not imagine they shunned all manner of intercourse with other people, they told us, by way of conclusion, that they were very willing to receive one of our men, and advance him to be one of the chief amongst them, and that merely with a view to learn my language, and to gain information concerning our manners and customs, in the same manner as they had already received amongst them those other ten men who had come into their country from ten other different nations. To all this *Zichmni* returned not the least reply; but, ordering his men to look out for some good harbour, made as though he was going to depart; when, sailing round the island, he espied at length a harbour on the eastern side of the island, where he put in with all his fleet. The mariners now went on shore to take in wood and water, which they did with all possible speed, for fear of being attacked by the natives. Neither indeed was this precaution taken in vain, for such of them as resided near that spot, made signals to the others by means of fire and smoke, and immediately took to their arms, and the others going to them, they all came running down together to the sea-side upon our men, with bows and arrows, and other weapons, so that

many of them were killed, and others dangerously wounded. And though we made signals of peace to them, it was to no purpose, for they were only the more enraged, and fought as though their all was at stake. We were therefore obliged to depart, and to sail on in a large circuit round the island, being all the while accompanied on the tops of the hills and on the sea coast by an infinite number of armed men; and just where the point of the island bends to the northward, we met with many large shoals, on which we were in continual danger, for the space of ten days, of losing our whole fleet; but that, very fortunately for us, the weather was fair during the whole time. We sailed on, however, till we came to the eastern cape; and saw the inhabitants still keeping up with us on the tops of the hills and on the sea shore, and by loud cries and shooting at us from afar, giving us the most manifest token of their unconquerable hatred and aversion to us. We therefore resolved to stay in some safe harbour, and endeavour, if possible, to speak again with the *Icelander*; but all in vain; for these people, scarcely a degree above the brute creation, stood continually under arms with the intent to attack us, if we once attempted to land. Upon this Zichmni, seeing that he could do nothing with them, and that if he persevered and obstinately adhered to his first intentions, the fleet would have been in want of provision, weighed anchor, and sailed with a fair wind, for the space of six days, to the westward; but the wind shifting to the south-west, and the sea growing rough, we sailed four days with the wind in the poop, and at length discovered land, to which, however, we were afraid of approaching too near, as well on account of the sea being extremely rough, as of our being unacquainted with the coast. But, by the providence of God, the wind ceased and the sea became calm. Upon which some of our company rowed to land with oars, and returned with the agreeable tidings that they had found a very good country and an excellent harbour. On the receipt of this piece of intelligence we towed our ships and small

barks into the harbour, which when we entered, we descried at a small distance a huge mountain that emitted smoke, which gave us great hopes that we should find some inhabitants in the island: and though the place where the smoke appeared to issue was at a great distance from us, Zichmni would not rest till he had sent 100 soldiers to explore the country, and bring back word what people they were that inhabited it. In the mean while they took in wood and water for the use of the fleet, and caught vast quantities of fish and sea fowl; and at the same time found so great a number of birds eggs, that our men, who before were half famished, had more than they could eat. While we rode in this harbour the month of June * commenced, at which time the air in the island was as mild and temperate as one could wish; but seeing nobody, we began to suspect that this delightful place was desolate and uninhabited. To the haven we gave the name of *Trin*, and the point that stretched out into the sea, we called *Cape Trin*. The hundred soldiers that had been sent out, in the space of eight days returned, and informed us, that they had been all through the island quite to the mountain, and that the smoke we saw proceeded from a fire at the bottom of it, and that at the same place there was a spring, from which issued a liquid of the nature of pitch, which ran into the sea. Likewise that the interior part of the country was inhabited by wild people, who hid themselves in caves; were short of stature, and very timid; for as soon as they saw our people they fled to their holes: moreover, that in that part of the island there was a large river and safe harbour. Zichmni, after receiving this piece of

* So long before as when the fleet was arrived off the Isle of Ilofe, it was the 1st of *July*; and now we are told, "commenced the month of *June*;" which shews very evidently, that there must be an error in one of these passages; and as Zeno soon after this tells us, that the people under his command complained that "the winter was coming on," there can be no doubt but that in this place, instead of *June*, we should read *August*.

intelligence,

intelligence, considering that the island was blest with a pure and healthy air, a good soil, fine rivers, and many other advantages, resolved to people it, and build a town on it. But his people, quite wearied out with so long and tedious a voyage, began to murmur, saying, that they chose to return to their own country; for the winter approached very fast, and were that once come, they should not be able to get away again before the ensuing summer. On which account, retaining only the barks with oars, and such of the men as were willing to stay with him, sent all the rest, with the ships, back again, and chose that I, though sore against my will, should command them.

“ Taking therefore my departure (as indeed I was obliged to do) I sailed for the space of 20 days to the eastward, without having sight of any land; then, shifting my course towards the south-east, in five days I discovered land, and perceived that I was near the island of *Neome* *, and knowing the country, found that I had already passed by *Iceland*; so that taking in refreshments of the inhabitants, who were subject to *Zichmni*, we sailed in three days, with a fair wind, to *Friefland*; where the people, who by reason of our long absence, thought they had lost their Prince, received us with demonstrations of the greatest joy.”

Besides what is contained in this Letter, I know nothing more, than what I gather by conjecture from part of another Letter, which I will here set down, viz. “ That *Zichmni* built a small town † in the harbour of the island he had discovered, and that he took great pains to explore the country, and discovered the whole of it, together with the rivers on both sides of *Engroneland* (Greenland) forasmuch as I

* *Neome* seems to be the island of *Streymoe*, one of the Faro Islands, as it is, in fact, to the southward of *Iceland*, and only three days sail from the Orkneys, or *Faras Islands*, i. e. *Friefland*.

† Hakluyt translates it thus, “ built a town.” The original says, *Fecit una terra*.

see it particularly described in the map, but the narrative of it is lost. The passage alluded to of the Letter runs thus :

“ As to the particulars you are desirous to know of me concerning the customs of the people, the animals, and the adjacent countries, of all these I have written a separate book, which, God willing, I intend to bring with me : in this book I have given a description of the country, the wonderful fishes, the laws and customs of *Frieland*, *Iceland*, *Estland*, the kingdom of *Norway*, *Estotiland*, *Drogio*, and, finally, the life of the Chevalier Nicolo Zeno, our brother ; with the discoveries made by him, and the state of *Greenland* (*Grolanda*). I have also written the life and acts of *Zichmni*, a prince as worthy of immortal fame as any that ever lived, on account of his great valour and humanity ; therein, too, I have described the discovery of *Engroveland* (*Engroneland*, or *Greenland*) on both its sides, and the town that he built. I shall therefore say no more on the subject in this Letter, as I hope soon to be with you and satisfy you concerning many other things, in person,”

All these Letters were written by Messer Antonio to his brother Carlo.

This is the whole of the account of the voyages made in the North by the two Zenos. Many have been inclined to reject the whole of this narrative, as being false and fabulous, because the names of the countries, *Frieland*, *Estland*, *Porland*, *Sorani*, *Estotiland*, *Drogio*, and *Engroveland*, are no longer any where to be met with. But after I had narrowly inspected it, and translated it myself from the *Italian* of *Francesco Marcolini*, preserved in Ramusio's collection, it was in the highest degree evident to me, that the whole of this relation is true, as, in fact, it contains within itself the strongest proofs of its own authenticity.

The

The author of this relation, *Marcolini*, has extracted it from the original letters of the two *Zenos*, one of the most considerable families in Venice; a family on which no one would have the boldness to palm stories of this kind, supposing them to be absolutely false. It must doubtless be well known, and be demonstrable from accounts to be found in original records and archives at Venice, that there were such people actually in being as these brothers, Carlo, Nicolo, and Antonio Zeno; that the Chevalier undertook a voyage to the North, and his brother Antonio followed him thither; that this same Antonio laid down all these voyages and countries on a map, which he brought with him to Venice, and which hung up in his house in *Marcolini's* time (where it was in the power of every one to see and examine it) as a sure pledge and an incontestible proof of the truth of this narrative. This being then the case, how is it possible for any one to harbour the least doubt concerning the truth of these relations, much more absolutely to reject them as fabulous? Should, however, any one persist in such incredulity, nothing farther can be opposed to him; as in this case there must be an end to all faith in history; and it would be but labour in vain to endeavour to convince one who purposely shuts his eyes against the truth.

But it is alledged likewise, that the whole narrative has the appearance of a mere fable. In what part of the North is *Friesland*; and the other countries mentioned in the narrative? Who has ever heard of a *Zichmni*, that in 1379, or 1380, vanquished the King of Norway, who at that time was called *Hakon*? It must be confessed that there is some degree of plausibility in all this. Yet we think we can do a great deal towards clearing the whole of this history from the difficulties which attend it.

And

And *first*, we shall endeavour to get over the geographical objections. Long before I had taken in hand this work on the Discoveries made in the North, the countries described by the Zenos appeared to me to have actually existed at that time, but that they had been swallowed up since by the sea in a great earthquake. This opinion I still held in the winter of 1782, when I laid down my map of the countries near the North Pole. It is founded on the probability that all the high islands which have been hitherto discovered in the middle of the sea, either have volcanoes in them still burning, or else exhibit the most evident traces of extinct volcanoes, such as craters, lava, puzzolana, black flags, and pumice-stone. This can be proved beyond a shadow of doubt to be the case with respect to Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verd Islands, St. Helena, Ascension Island, Otaheite, and the whole cluster of the Society Islands, Easter Island, the Marquesas, many of the new Hebrides and Friendly Islands, and even with respect to Iceland and the Faro Islands. It was therefore probable, that these islands, mentioned in the narrative of the Zenos, were likewise volcanic, and had been by a violent earthquake a second time buried in the bottom of the sea. But afterwards reflecting, that so great a revolution must however have left behind it some historical vestiges, or traditions, I began to examine over again the names of the countries described; and now I found that they actually bore the strongest resemblance to the *Orkneys*, the *Sketland*, *Faro*, *Western Islands*, &c. and as I have already made some mention of this above, I shall only slightly touch upon the subject at present. The Zenos having represented *Porland* as entirely composed of small islands, has suggested to me the idea that all these general names of countries appertained to whole clusters of islands taken collectively. Accordingly *Esland* appeared to me very much to resemble the *Zetland*, or *Sketland* islands; and on comparing the names of *Talas*, *Broas*, *Isfant*, *Trans*, *Mimant*, *Dambere*, and *Bres*, with those of *Yell*, or *Zeal* (probably *Teal*) *Burray*, (or *Bura*, of which name there are two places,

Westbura

Westburn and *East-Bura*, when taken collectively called the *Buras*) *Unst*, *Tronda*, *Mainland*, *Hamer* (a place in *Mainland* to the northward). *Brassa*, or *Bressa*, the resemblance appeared to me so obvious, that I could no longer harbour the least doubt about the matter. After this I began to consider where the other islands and clusters of islands were to be sought for. The land of *Sorani*, of which *Zichmni* was Duke, lay *over-against Scotland* (according to the English translation in *Hakluyt*) but the Italian original of *Marcolini*, says (*posta della banda verso Scotia*) it lay on one side of Scotland. Here the *Soderoe*, or southern islands of the Normans and Danes, naturally suggested themselves to me, isles, which are, in fact, the same with those called at present the *Western Isles*, and lie directly close to Scotland, but which in respect to the *Shetland* and the *Faro Islands*, lie to the southward. Now, from the word *Soderoe* (*Soder* signifying southern, and *Oer* islands) is formed by contraction *Soröer*, and (varying the termination of the plural) *Soroen*, which again might, by a corrupt pronunciation, be easily transmuted to *Sorani*. Zeno relates that he had found the bay of *Sudero* near the isles of *Ledovo* and *Ilofe*. Now these are the *Soderoe*, and the Isles of *Lewis** and of *Ilay*. *Sanestol* appears to me situated near the isle of *Lewis*, and to be that cluster of islands which are called *Schantsoer*, whence the word *Sanestol* is evidently derived. The town of *Bondendon* is nothing more than a place in the Isle of *Skye*, called *Pondon*, or *Pondontown*, a name which, by a very slight change in the pronunciation, is easily transformed to *Bondendon*.

* The Isle of *Lewis* was by the Normans called *Lodbus*, from which appellation probably originated the name of *Ledovo*. Vid. *Pennant's Tour in Scotland, and a Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1782, Part I. page 326, the 2d or 4th edition. The *Soderoe* were all the Western Islands that lay to the south of Point *Ardnamurchan*, in Scotland, in 57 deg. N. lat. and those that lay to the north were called the *Northern Islands*.

From this conquest of the *Western Islands*, Zichmni's fleet returned in triumph to *Frieſland*, the capital of the island of that name, in a bay of which, quite to the south-westward, it was situate. Here then we have again an island, or perhaps even an assemblage of islands, under this denomination. They are famous for the vast quantities of fish, which are shipped from them to Flanders, the coast of Bretagne, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark. The place here spoken of is then no other than the island of *Faira*, or *Fera*, which is also called *Feras land*, and belongs to the *Orkneys*, being so encompassed with various islands, that it appears to lie quite in a gulph or bay; and here, too, a great number of herrings are caught yearly. So that this spot appears to be *Faireſland*, by abbreviation, *Frieſland*.

The descent upon *Eſtland* was interrupted by the news of the arrival of the King of Norway. Both fleets suffered by the storm, but that of the Normans more than Zichmni's; and some ships from both fleets, that had been saved from the general wreck, arrived at *Griſland*, an uninhabited island. This *Griſland* lies far to the northward, and near Iceland. It should seem consequently that it was the isle of *Grimſ-ey*, which lies to the north of Iceland. Indeed I should rather take it for the island of *Enkbuyzen*, which is supposed to lie to the eastward of Iceland; and which, from the name it bears, we may conclude to have been seen by some Dutch mariners; but as many navigators, and but very lately M. *Kerguelen* have very diligently looked out for it without being able to find it, in all probability it is merely an island, formerly thrown up above the surface of the sea by the repeated concussions of the volcano in Iceland, but afterwards by the same sea swallowed up again entire. However, it is likewise possible, that this island *Enkbuyzen* was nothing more than a large floating mountain of ice, and thus could not have been seen again. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems more natural to

suppose that *Grisland* is the *Grimf-ey* of the moderns. For this latter word, according to the old orthography, might very well be written *Grisland*. Now those words, which in Zeno's narrative have the word *land* added to them, are by the Danes and Icelanders terminated in *or*, or *ey*; and consequently *Grisland* is neither more nor less than *Grimf-ey*. Zichinni was desirous likewise of making an attempt on Iceland; but found that country too well defended, and his fleet, which was shattered by the storm, too weak to give him any hopes of success in that quarter. He now turned his arms against the other islands of *Estland*, i. e. *Sbetland*, and made a conquest of them. Formerly these islands went by the name of *Faltaland*, or *Hitland*, which, in process of time, was changed into *Zet-land* and *Sbetland*; and hence the *Estland* of Zeno is easily deduced, particularly, if we at the same time have recourse for the names of these islands taken separately, which names we have already compared with each other, and explained.

Nicolo Zeno undertook, from *Bressa*, in the Shetland islands, a voyage to *Greenland*; for his *Engroveland*, as well as the *Engroneland* of the English translation, is no other than *Greenland*, of which he gives a very exact description, as well as of the monastery of *St. Thomas*. He speaks of the uncultivated savages, who, according to this account, so early as in the year 1380 odd, were on the eastern coast of the island near the monastery of *St. Thomas*. The trade of the Friars was carried on by means of ships, which went thither from the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faro Islands; as likewise from *Drontheim* in Norway, from Sweden, and other northern regions. Zeno even describes the small leathern boats in which the Greenlanders tie themselves fast; so that it is evident, that he made strict enquiry into, and saw with his own eyes, every thing which he relates.

After the demise of *Nicolo Zeno*, *Antonio* goes to *Estotiland*, and, on this occasion, informs us by what accident it was discovered. He

says, that it was more than 1000 miles to the westward of Friesland ; that the inhabitants were civilized, had arts and handicraft trades, carried on a trade in furs with Greenland, and brought back from thence brimstone and pitch ; that they were in possession of Latin books which they no longer understood, but had a peculiar language, as well as letters and a written character of their own. To the southwards there were countries abounding with gold ; here they had walled cities, and built ships ; they likewise practised agriculture and brewed beer. All these particular designations are strong indications of a people that had its origin from the northern nations of Europe. Nay, it is evident, that this *Estotiland* cannot possibly be any other country than that of *Winland*, which was discovered in the year 1001, and which we have shewn at page 83, with a tolerable degree of certainty, to be the *Newfoundland* of the moderns. It is beyond all doubt that several Normans settled in this country ; these carried thither with them the arts and handicraft trades then known, and traded to Greenland, from whence they originally came. It is very possible indeed that their language might have been altered by their mixture with the natives ; and a fisherman from the Orkneys might be very well supposed to have been ignorant of the Runic. That Latin books were found in the collection belonging to the King, or Chief, is not surprizing, as it is well known, and indeed has been observed at page 87 of this History, that *Eris*, Bishop of Greenland, went in the year 1121 to *Winland*, in order to convert his countrymen in those parts, who were still heathens. But it is not to be supposed that this Bishop would have been at the pains to make a voyage to *Winland* above a hundred years after the first discovery of it, if he had not known with certainty, that there were at that time many of the descendants of his countrymen in that region. Now, as this prelate was never known to have returned to Greenland, it is not improbable that he died in *Winland* ; and consequently the Latin books found in this latter country might have been carried thither by him.

him. The Normans had also introduced into it the art of brewing beer, and agriculture. The people of this country understood navigation too, and went backwards and forwards to Greenland; but at the time when the Normans first settled in Winland, the use of the compass was not known. For the commonly received opinion is, that *Flavio Gioia*, of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, made the discovery of it in 1302; though others maintain, that Marco Polo, who was in China and the East from 1271 to 1295, brought home with him the use of the compass from China, where it is said to have been known long before. On the other hand, *Fauchet*, from a passage in Guyot de Provence, a Provencal poet, who flourished about the year 1200, and mentions the compass by the name of *la marinette*, concludes, that this instrument was then in use among mariners. In short, it is evident, that the Orkney fishermen at this time made use of the compass in their navigations, an instrument at that period not known to the inhabitants of *Estotiland*.

The land of *Drogio* lay more to the southward than *Estotiland*, as did all the other countries through which the fisherman wandered during the space of 13 years, and among which he at last found nations, who lived in a very temperate climate; and had cities and temples, wherein they offered up human beings by way of sacrifice, and devoured their flesh. These people, too, were not totally without information, and were possessed of gold and silver. Nearly thus were the first inhabitants of *Florida* described, who were in possession of cities and temples as well as of gold and silver, at the time when their country was first re-discovered by the Europeans.

Antonio Zeno now proceeds to relate the history of the last voyage of discovery which he made with Zichmni, in order to explore the country that had been seen, and thus circumstantially described by the fisherman.—From *Friesland*, i. e. *Faira*, in the Orkneys, the fleet goes

goes to *Ledovo*, or *Lewis*, one of the western islands, and then to *Ilefa*, viz. *Ilay*, or, as it was probably called, *Ili-oe*. When they had sailed a little way to the westwards, they were tossed to and fro by a tempest, for the space of eight days, and as soon as the wind became fair, descried land. Here the inhabitants would not suffer them to make a landing, but spoke to them by an interpreter, who was a native of Iceland. The country was called *Icaria*: after this follows a strange story of one *Dædalus*, King of Scotland, and his son *Icarus*, who became their King and Legislator. This country, which had been newly peopled, was no other than Ireland, where they had the recollection of the piracies of the Normans deeply impressed on their memories, and therefore would not permit these warriors, who were quite unknown to them, to land. It was perhaps from the county of *Kerry* that this name of *Icaria* took its origin; and the name of *Icarus*'s father must of course be *Dædalus*, who, in all probability, was some Scottish Prince, with a name sounding somewhat like this word. From this place they sailed six days to the westward, with a fair wind; but in four days a storm from the south-west drove them to the northwards, when they descried land, with a burning mountain, whence issued smoke and fire, and a river which flowed with asphaltus. A half-wild, diminutive race of men, lived here in caverns. In the sequel, Zeno himself tells us, that Zichmni had explored the whole country, and together with it had discovered the rivers on *both sides* of *Engroneland*, i. e. Greenland, and built a town there. So that it is beyond all doubt, that the country discovered by Zichmni was *Greenland*. At the same time it is remarkable, that he met with no Europeans, nor any of their descendants, nor even with the Monks found a few years before by Nicolò Zeno in the cloister of St. Thomas. The inhabitants are, according to the description here given, real Greenlanders, short of stature and half wild, but live in caverns, which, in fact, are at this juncture the winter habitations of the natives of Greenland.

land. This seems to intimate, that the natives of this country, or the ancestors of the present race of Greenlanders, between 1380 and 1384, or thereabouts, had extirpated the new comers from Europe, together with the Monks. Farther, it is evident, from this narrative, that the eastern as well as the western coast of Greenland, not only was known to the Europeans, but they were both laid down in a map by Antonio Zeno.

This same person, in returning to *Friesland*, saw the island off *Neome*, which I take to be *Stromoe*, one of the *Faro* isles; a circumstance which seems to point out with still greater certainty the course of his navigation. I take the liberty of observing here, en passant, that *Porrland* likewise belonged to the domains of *Zichmni*, and that by this name in all probability are meant the *Faroer*, or *Faro Islands*: the great number of sheep which were fed there having furnished these islands both with weapons and a name; for *Far*, in Danish, signifies a *ram*. Now, *Far-oe*, or *Far-land*, is easily transmuted into *Porrland*.

In consequence of the preceding elucidations, I flatter myself that the unprejudiced part of my readers will not be disposed, from any considerations respecting the *geography* of it, to harbour the least doubt concerning the truth of this relation, having endeavoured to make it appear, with as much probability as the subject is capable of, that the countries visited and described by the two Zenos, are of the number of those which are already known, that Greenland was visited by them, and that these illustrious adventurers were even not unacquainted with America.

We will now turn to the historical proofs. It is true, among the Princes or Sovereigns of the Orkneys, between the years 1370 and 1394, we find no such name as *Zichmni*, and consequently no Orcadian King or Prince, who about this time vanquished the King of Norway in a pitched battle. The History of the Orkneys at this period will probably serve to throw some light upon this subject.

The

The ancient Earls of Orkney, the descendants of the Jarl *Einar-Torf*, were extinct; in consequence of which the King of Norway, *Magnus Smak*, about the year 1343, nominated *Erngifel Sunafon Bot*, a Swedish nobleman, *Jarl*, or *Earl* of *Orkney*, and the treasure of the earldom was seized upon for the Crown. In the year 1357, *Malic Conda*, or *Mallis Sperre*, by his guardian, *Duncan Anderson*, made known to the states of the Orkneys his pretensions to the earldom, as being rightful heir to it in the female line; which pretensions the states laid before the King. Afterwards (in 1369) *Henry Sinclair* (de Santa Clara) likewise put in his claim as rightful heir in the female line, and in 1370, was nominated to this earldom by King *Hakon*. Now, as besides this, *Alexander* of *Ard*, or *Le-ard*, claimed the Orkneys as a descendant in the female line, and there were many that, under this pretence, harrassed the islands by repeated acts of piracy, *Hakon* requested of *David*, King of Scotland, to put a stop to this growing evil; in consequence of which request, King *David* forbade, on pain of death, any of his subjects to go to the Orkneys, except with a view to trade. In 1375, *Hakon* appointed *Alexander Le-ard*, for a year, to the earldom. These frequent changes seem to shew, that the Kings of Norway, on account of the troubles at that time existing in Sweden and Norway, were not very well able to defend the Orkneys, which, therefore, continued to be exposed to the depredations of the pretenders to the earldom. Want of money, too, obliged the Norwegian monarchs to favour all these claimants, and grant them letters of investment, accordingly as the latter furnished them with money. In consequence of this the degraded and malcontent Earls had continual bickerings with the newly-invested Lords, and even sometimes regularly waged war with them. Now *Henry Sinclair* appears to have fairly vanquished *Le-ard*, and taken possession of the Orkneys, and upon this to have made suit to the King to be invested with the earldom, which suit the King, after *Sinclair's* victory over *Le-ard*, granted.

At the same time, however, *Henry Sinclair* was obliged to pay him 1000 golden nobles, and promise to accommodate matters with *Mallis Sperre*, and the other claimant, *Alexander Le-Ard*, so that they should make no farther pretensions to the Orkneys, but entirely give up their right and title to these islands; and since the year 1379 there are vestiges to be met with in history, that *Henry Sinclair* was still Earl of the *Orkneys* in the year 1406, and likewise in the possession of *Hialtaland*, (or the *Sbetland* Islands). With these few historical anecdotes we are now able to elucidate many particulars which before seemed involved in obscurity. The name of *Sinclair*, or *Sicclair*, is easily taken for *Zichmni* by an Italian who only hears the word pronounced; and as this *Sinclair* vanquished *Alexander Le-Ard*, who represented the King of Norway in the Orkneys, and as he made himself master of those islands, of which he then, and not till then, applied for the investiture, and obtained it in 1739; it might with no great impropriety be affirmed, that he had beat the King of Norway, viz. in the person of his vassal. The thousand golden nobles, too, doubtless contributed somewhat towards King *Hakon's* making no great difficulty of the matter. So that after these elucidations there can be no reason left to doubt of the truth of this narrative of the Zenos, which yet, considered with respect to the geography of the North at that period, is of great importance.

XIV. *Pietro Quirini*, a Venetian nobleman, was a merchant and master of a ship in the island of *Candia*, which at that time was in the possession of the Venetians. With a view to acquire fame as well as profit, in the year 1431, he undertook a voyage from *Candia* to *Flanders*, and towards the end of autumn suffered shipwreck on the coast of Norway, not far from *Rost* Island. Here he wintered, and the fol-

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Following summer travelled through *Drontheim* to *Wadstena*, in Sweden, and arrived again in 1432 at Venice. He has himself given an account of the voyage, and two of his fellow-travellers, *Christophus Fioravante*, and *Nicolo di Michiel*, did the same. Both these works are to be found in *Ramusio's Collection*, published at Venice, in two volumes, A. D. 1583, page 200—211. They have likewise been published in the German language, by way of extract, from *Ramusio*, by *Hieronymus Megiserus*, in a work called *Septentrio Novantiquus*. Printed in 8vo at Leipzig, 1613.

Quirini informs us, that on the 25th of April, 1431, he set sail from Candia, on a westward course, but, meeting with contrary winds, he was obliged to keep near the coast of Africa. On the 2d of June he passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and through the ignorance of his pilot ran upon the shoals of St. Petro, in consequence of which the rudder was thrown off the hinges, and the sea entered the ship at three places. In fact, it was with great difficulty that they could save the vessel from going to the bottom, and run into *Cadix*, where they unloaded her, and in 25 days, having put her into perfect repair, took her lading in again. In the mean time, having heard that the Republic of Venice was at war with that of Genoa, he augmented the number of his crew, so that in the whole it amounted to 68 men. On the 14th of July he set sail again, and bore up for the Cape of St. Vincent; but, by reason of a contrary wind, which blew from off the land in a north-east direction, and on that coast is called *Agione*, they were obliged to traverse for the space of 45 days at a great distance from the land, and indeed near the Canary Islands, on tracks which were very dangerous, and with which they were entirely unacquainted. But at length, just as their stock of provisions began to fail, they had a fair wind from the south-west, and directed their course to the north-east: some of the iron-work, however, gave way, on which the rudder was hung. In the mean time they mended them as well as they could, and on the 25th of August, arrived safe at *Lisbon*.

Here

Here having carefully repaired the iron-work of their rudder, and taken in a fresh stock of provisions, they set sail again on the 14th of Sept. They were now a second time tossed to and fro by contrary winds, till the 26th of October, when they reached the port of *Mures*, whence Quirini, with 13 of the crew, went to *San Jago di Compostella*, in order to perform their devotions. They returned with all possible speed, and setting sail with a fair south-west wind, kept, in hopes that the wind would continue, at the distance of 200 miles from the land, and *Cape Finistere*, till the 5th of November, when the wind shifting to the east and south-east, prevented them from entering the British Channel, and carried them beyond the *Sorlingian*, (or *Scilly*) Islands. The wind now encreased in violence, and on the 10th of November, carried the rudder a second time from off its hinges. They slung it indeed by ropes to the quarters of the ship, but it soon got loose again, and was dragged after the ship for the space of three days, when they used their utmost efforts, and made it fast again. But their vessel now drove continually farther from the land; and as the crew consumed the victuals and drink without bounds, or limitation, at length two or three of them were set to guard the provisions, who twice a-day distributed to each man his share, Quirini himself not excepted. In this condition, by the advice of the carpenter, they constructed, out of the mainmast and the spare yards, two rudders with triangular boarded ends, in order to prevent the vessel from going unsteady. These new rudders were properly fastened, and proved very serviceable, a circumstance which inspired them all with fresh hopes; but, by the violence of the winds, likewise this their last refuge was torn away from the ship. On the 26th of November, the storm encreased to such a degree, that they had no doubt but that that day would be their last. The storm indeed, by degrees, became somewhat less violent; but they were driven out to sea, W. N. W.

and the sails, which had been perpetually fatigued by the rain and wind, were now torn to shivers ; and though they clapt on new ones, yet these did not last long. Now the ship drove without either sails or rudder, and was filled with water by the waves which continually beat over it, insomuch that the crew, debilitated by labour and anxiety, were scarcely able to keep the water under. Having heaved the lead, and found ground at 80 fathoms, they spliced all the four cables together, and rode at anchor for the space of 40 hours. One of the crew, terrified at the dreadful working of the ship in consequence of the tempest and the swell of the sea, cut the cable at the forecastle of the ship, which now drove about as before. On the 4th of December, four large waves breaking over the ill-fated vessel, filled it so full that it was almost ready to sink. The crew, however, summoning up all their resolution and spirits, baled the water out, though it reached up to their waists, and in the end quite emptied the vessel of it. On the 7th the tempest encreased to such a degree, that the sea flowed into the vessel on the windward side, and their destruction seemed to them inevitable. But now they were of opinion, that if the mainmast were cut away, it would lighten the ship. They therefore set about this business immediately, and a large wave fortunately carried away the mast, together with the yard, which made the ship work less. The wind, too, and the waves, became somewhat more calm, and they again baled out the water. But now the mast was gone, the vessel would no longer keep upright, and lying quite on one side, the water ran into it in torrents, when, being exhausted with labour and want of food, and finding that they had not strength left sufficient for clearing the vessel of the water, they resolved at length to save themselves in the boats, of which
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the larger held 47, and the smaller 21 men. *Quirini*, who had the choice which boat he would go in, at last went with his servants into the great boat, into which he saw the officers enter. They took with them a stock of provisions, and as soon as the winds and the waves were become somewhat more calm, which was on the 17th of December, they quitted the ship, which, among other costly articles of commerce, was laden with 800 casks of Malmsey wine, and a great quantity of sweet-scented Cyprus wood, ginger, and pepper. On the following night the small-boat, with the 21 men in her, was separated from them by the violence of the storm, and they never heard of her more. Indeed they were themselves obliged, in order to lighten their boat a little, to throw over-board their stock of wine and provisions, together with all their clothes, excepting what they carried on their backs. The weather proving fair for a time, they steered to the eastward, with a view to get, as they supposed, to Iceland; but the wind chopping about, drove them to and fro again. Their liquor beginning to fail, and besides many of them being exhausted in consequence of the preceding scarcity of provisions, as well as of the incessant labour, long watchings, and other hardships they had undergone, a great number of them died: the scarcity of drink in particular was so great, that each man had no more than the fourth part of a cup (and that not a large one) every 24 hours. With salted meat, cheese, and biscuit, they were better provided: but this salt and dry food excited in them a thirst which they were not able to quench. In consequence of this, some of them died suddenly, and without having previously exhibited the least symptoms of any complaint; and in particular it was observed, that those were first carried off who had before this period lived in the most riotous manner, who had drank great quantities of wine, or entirely given themselves

selves up to drunkenness, and had hovered continually over the fire, without stirring at all but to shift from one side of the fire to the other. These, though they had externally the appearance of being strong and healthy, were yet least of all capable of bearing the hardships they were obliged to undergo, in consequence of which they died two, three, and four in a day. This mortality prevailed among the crew from the 19th of December to the 29th, the corpses being thrown into the sea. On the 19th the last remainder of the wine was served out, and every one prepared for death. Some of them drank sea-water, which hastened their deaths, while others had recourse to their own urine, and this latter beverage, joined with the precaution of eating as little salt provision as possible, contributed most of all to the preservation of their lives. For the space of five days they continued in this dreadful situation, sailing all the time to the north-eastward. On the 4th of January, one of them, who sat at the fore part of the boat, descried, somewhat to the leeward, as it were, the shadow of land, and immediately informed the crew of it in an anxious tone of voice. Their eyes were now all turned to the object, and continued stedfastly fixed upon it, and by break of day they saw, with extreme joy, that it was really land.

The sight of this inspired them with fresh vigour, so that they now took to their oars, in order to arrive the sooner at the shore; but this, on account of its great distance, as well as of the shortness of the day, which was only two hours long, they could not compass. Besides, they could not long make use of their oars, as they were so weak, and as the night soon overtook them, which, long as it was, seemed still longer to them from the impatience natural to men in their condition. The next morning, by day-break, they lost sight of the land; however, to the leeward, they discovered another mountainous country very near them. That they might not, on the following night, lose sight of this, they took the bearings of it with the compass, and then immediately

mediately set sail for it with a fair wind, and arrived at it about four o'clock in the evening. When they approached near to it they observed that it was surrounded by a great number of shallow places, for they heard very distinctly the sea breaking upon them. They gave themselves up, however, to the guidance of the Almighty; and once their boat being brought upon a shoal, a vast wave came and carried it off again, at the same time setting them entirely out of danger, and upon a rock which now was their great security and preservation. This was the only place where they could land, as the rock was encompassed on every other side by other projecting rocks. They therefore ran their boat on to the land, when those that were in the fore part of the boat, leaped directly on shore, and finding it entirely covered with snow, they swallowed the snow in immense quantities, filling with it their parched and burning stomachs and bowels. They likewise filled a kettle and water-pitcher for us, that from weakness staid in the boat. I must confess, says Quirini, that I swallowed as much snow as I should find it very difficult to carry on my back. It seemed to me as though all my welfare and happiness depended on my swallowing it. However, this extravagant quantity of snow agreed so ill with five of our men, that they died that same night, though, indeed, we considered the seawater they had swallowed as the cause of their death.

Having no ropes to fasten the boat with, and thus prevent it from being dashed in pieces, they remained in it the whole night. The next day, at dawn, these 16 poor wretches, the only remains of 46, went a-shore and laid themselves down in the snow. Hunger, however, soon obliged them to examine whether there was not some provision still remaining of their stock; but they found nothing more than a few crumbs of biscuit in a bag, mixed with the dung of mice, a very small ham, and an inconsiderable quantity of cheese. These they warmed by means of a small fire, which they had made of the seats of the boat, and this, in some measure, appeased their hunger. The day
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after, having convinced themselves, beyond a doubt, that the rock they were on was uninhabited and quite deserted, they were going to quit it, and accordingly, after filling five small casks with snow-water, got into the boat, when the instant they entered it, the water ran into it in torrents through all the seams, as during the whole of the preceding long night the boat had been dashing against the rock, inasmuch that it went to the bottom immediately, and they were all obliged, quite wet through, to go a-shore again. They now made of the oars and sails of the boat two small tents, by way of sheltering themselves from the weather, and with the knees and planks of it, which they hewed in pieces, they kindled a fire to warm themselves by. The only food that was now left for them consisted in a few muscles and other sea-shells which they picked up on the shore. Thirteen of the company were in one tent, and three in the other. The smoke of the wet wood occasioned their faces and eyes to swell up to so great a degree, that they were afraid of losing their eye-sight; and what still added to their sufferings, was that they were almost devoured by lice and maggots, which they threw by handfuls into the fire. Quirini's secretary had the flesh on his neck eaten bare to the sinews by these vermin, which, indeed, occasioned his death. There died also three Spaniards besides, who were of a very robust frame of body, but probably lost their lives in consequence of the sea-water they had drunk *. The 13 still remaining alive were so weak that they

* It is highly probable that this observation is founded on fact, as well as that mentioned a little before, viz. that the hardest drinkers, who at the same time were the most inactive people, were the first victims of death: for even now we find that in long voyages, such as are idle and inactive, and drink a great quantity of strong liquors of any kind, are always the first to be attacked with the scurvy and are carried off suddenly by it. In the mean time I cannot refrain from relating an incident which actually happened, and which was communicated to me in England by persons of unquestionable veracity. A vessel on its voyage from Jamaica to England had suf-
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they were not able, for the space of three days, to drag away the corpses from the fire-side, where they lay.

Eleven days after this, Quirini's servant going along the shore to pick up muscles, the only food they had, found on the farthest point of the rock, a small house, built of wood, in which, as well as round about it, they saw some cow-dung. From this circumstance they had reason to conclude that there were both men and cattle in the neighbourhood of this spot; an idea that served to revive their drooping spirits, and inspired them with fresh hopes. This house offered them good shelter and house-room, and all, but three or four of them, who, were too weak, went to occupy it, taking with them several bundles of wood from the ruins of their boat. With great difficulty they crawled thither through the deep snow, the distance being about a mile and a half. Two days after this, going along the shore to seek their usual food of muscles and other sea shells, one of the company found a very large fish, cast up by the sea, which appeared to weigh about 200lb. weight, and to be quite sweet and fresh. This fish was cut

ferred so much from the storms by which it was overtaken, that at length it was on the point of sinking. The crew had recourse in all haste to the boat. The great hurry they were in, having occasioned them to take with them but a small quantity of provisions and liquor, they soon began to be afflicted with hunger as well as thirst in a high degree, when the Captain advised them by no means to drink the sea-water, as the effects of it would be extremely noxious; but rather to follow his example, and, thinly clad, dip in the sea. He himself practised this constantly, and not only he, but all those who followed his example, found that, when they came out of the water, both their hunger and thirst were perfectly appeased for a long time. Many of the crew laughed at him and at those that followed his instructions, but at length grew weak, exhausted, and died of hunger and thirst; nay, some of them, urged by despair, threw themselves into the sea: but the Captain, and such as several times a-day dipped into the sea, preserved their lives for the space of 19 days, and at the end of that period were taken up by a vessel which was sailing that way. It should seem that they absorbed, by the pores of their bodies, as much pure water as was sufficient for their nourishment, all the salt being at the same time left behind. In fact, I was told that the salt was deposited on the exterior surface of their bodies in the form of a thin pellicle, which they were obliged repeatedly to rub off.

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into small slices, and carried to their dwelling, where they directly set about boiling and broiling it. But the smell of it was so extremely tempting, that they had not patience to wait till it was thoroughly dressed, and eat it half raw. They continued gorging themselves with this fish, almost without intermission, for the space of four days; but at length the evident decrease of this their stock taught them to be more economical with it in future, so that it lasted them ten days longer. Those three that staid behind in one of the first huts had sent one of their number to look for the rest, and as soon as he was refreshed with some of the fish, he carried a part of it to his companions, and now they all assembled together again in the wooden hovel they had discovered. During the whole time that they lived on the fish the weather was exceedingly tempestuous, so that they certainly would not have been able to look out for muscles.

Having made an end of their fish, they were obliged to return to their first resource of picking up muscles wherever they could find them; and there being about eight miles from them a rock, inhabited by fishermen, it so happened, that a man, with two of his sons, came to this rocky islot, which (as *Fiorovante* informs us) was called *Santi* (Sand ey, or Sand ee) to seek after some cattle which had strayed away from them. The sons went straight to the hovel, where these unfortunate wretches were, for they had seen smoke ascend from it, a circumstance which greatly astonished them, and became the subject of their discourse. Their voices were heard, in fact, by the people in the house; but they supposed the noise to be nothing more than the screaming of the sea-fowl, which had devoured the corpses of their deceased companions. Notwithstanding which Christopher Fiorovante went out, when spying two youths, he ran in again in haste, and called to the rest aloud, that two men were come to seek them out. Upon this the whole company ran out immediately to meet the lads, who, on their

parts, were terrified at the sight of such a number of poor, famished wretches. Indeed, these latter had debated with each other, whether they should not detain one or two of these visitors with a view to make themselves more certain of procuring assistance; but *Quirini* dissuaded them from putting in execution so very unadvisable a plan. They all accompanied the youths to their boat, and intreated the father and sons to take two of their people with them to their habitations, in order the sooner to procure them assistance from thence. For this purpose they chose one *Gerard* of Lyons, who had been purser of the ship, and one *Cola*, of Otranto, a mariner, as these two men could speak a little French and German.

The boat, with the fishermen and the two strangers, went to the island of *Rustene* (Rost, or Rostoe) on a Friday. On their landing, the inhabitants were greatly astonished at their arrival, but were not able to understand them, though these latter addressed them in different languages, till at last one of the strangers began to speak German a little with one of the company, a German Priest of the order of the Monks Predicant, and informed him who they were, and whence they came. On the 2d of February the festival of the Purification of the Virgin Mary fell on a Sunday, when the Priest admonished all the people in *Rustene* to assist the unhappy strangers to the utmost of their power, at the same time representing the difficulties they had undergone, and pointing to the two famished wretches present. Many of the congregation were softened even to tears, and resolved to bring away the rest of these miserable people as soon as possible, which they did the next day. In the mean while, to those that remained behind in *Santi*, the time of their companions absence appeared an age; and what with hunger and cold together, they were almost dead. Their

joy at the first sight of the six boats that went for them is not to be described. The Dominican Priest enquired which of them was the ship's Captain ; and when Quirini made himself known as such, the former presented him with some rye bread to eat, which he looked upon as manna, and some beer to drink. After this the Priest took him by the the hand, and desired him to choose out two of his company to go along with him. Quirini accordingly pitched upon *Francis Quirini*, of Candia, and *Christopher Fioravante*, a Venetian ; when they all four went together in the boat of the principal man in *Rusene*. The rest were distributed in the other five boats. Nay more, these good Samaritans went likewise to the first dwelling-place of these unfortunate people under the tent, and taking away with them the only survivor of the three men who had staid behind, from weakness, buried the others. The poor invalid, however, died the next day. The boats arrived at *Rusene*, and Quirini was quartered with the principal person in the island. The son led him by the hand, on account of his great debility, to his father's dwelling ; when the mistress of the house, with her maid, advanced to meet him, and Quirini going to fall at her feet, she would not permit him, but got immediately a basin of milk for him out of the house, by way of comforting him and restoring his strength. During three months and a half that Quirini spent in this house, he experienced the greatest friendship and humanity from the owners ; while, on the other hand, he endeavoured by complaisance to acquire the good-will of his hosts ; and to requite their benevolence. The other partners, too, of his misfortunes, were distributed into the different houses of the place ; and taken good care of.

The rocky isle of Røst lies 70 Italian miles to the westward of the southernmost promontory of Norway, which in their language they call the *World's Backside* (Culo Mundi). It is three miles in circumference. This rock is inhabited by 120 souls, of whom 72, like good Catholic Christians, received the Communion on Easter-day with great devotion. They get their livelihood and maintain their families by fishing, as there grows no corn of any kind in this very remote part of the world. For in all this time, during the three months of June, July, and August, they have but one continued day*, as the sun never sets with respect to them. In the opposite months of the winter they have also but one continued night, and they are never without the light of the moon. They catch, during the whole year, an incredible quantity of fish; these, however, are of two different sorts only; one, which they catch in an incredible number in the greater bays, is called *stockfish* (*Gadus morrhua*) and the other is a kind of flat fish, of an astonishing size, for one of them was found to weigh near 200 pounds. The stockfish is dried, without salt, in the air and sun, and as there is not much fat and moisture in them, they grow as dry as wood. When they are prepared for eating they are beaten with the back part of the hatchet, by which manœuvre they are divided into filaments like nerves: after this they are dressed with butter and spices to give them a relish. With this commodity the people here carry on a considerable trade beyond sea with Germany. The halibuts are cut into pieces on account of their size, and then salted, in which state they eat very well. With these fish they afterwards, in the month of May, load a ship of about 50 tons burthen, and send them to

* Fioravante says, that from the 20th of November to the 20th of February the night was 21 hours long, and that on the contrary, from the 20th of May to the 20th of August they constantly saw either the sun itself or else the light proceeding from it.

Bergen, a place in Norway, about 1000 miles distant from them; whither likewise at this time of the year a great number of ships, from 300 to 350 tons burthen, carry all the produce of Germany, England, Scotland, and Prussia; together with every thing necessary in regard to food, drink, and cloathing; and these fish they barter for those commodities and necessaries, because their country being entirely barren and unfruitful, they consequently have no use for money. Immediately as the exchange is made, they return home, landing in one place only, whence they carry wood for the whole year for burning, and for other exigencies.

The inhabitants of these rocks are a well-looking people, and of pure morals. They are not in the least afraid of being robbed. Accordingly they never lock up any thing, but leave their doors and every thing open. Their women also are not watched in the smallest degree; for their guests lay in the same room with the husbands and their wives and daughters, who, when they went to bed, stripped quite naked in their presence. The beds of the foreigners, who were saved from the wreck, stood close to those in which slept the grown-up sons and daughters of their landlords. Every other day the father and sons went a fishing by break of day, and were absent for eight hours together, without being under any concern with respect to the honour and chastity of their wives and daughters. In the beginning of the month of May their women usually begin to frequent the baths. Custom and purity of morals have made it a law amongst them, that they should first strip themselves quite naked at home, and then go to the bath, at the distance of bow-shot from the house. In their right-hand they carry a bundle of herbs to wipe the sweat from off their backs; at the same time laying their left-hand somewhat extended on their middle, as if they thereby wished to cover the parts of shame, though, in fact, they did not seem to take much pains about it. In the bath they were
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seen promiscuously with the men *. They had not the least notion of fornication or adultery, and did not marry from sensual motives, but merely in order to conform to the divine commands. They also abstained from swearing and cursing. At the death of their relations they shewed the greatest resignation to the will of God, and even returned thanks to the Almighty in their churches for having spared their friends so long a time, and for having suffered them to live so long with them, and in that he now called them to himself to be partakers of his heavenly bounty. They also shewed so little of extrava-

* The custom of men and women frequenting the baths at one and the same time is very ancient, for it existed among the Romans, and of them the Grecians learned it, according to the testimony of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cato* the Elder, p. 348, edit. *Aubriana Francof.* 1620 fol. But in the course of time this custom gave rise to such shameful lewd practices, that the Emperors *Adrianus* and *Marcus Antoninus* found it necessary to prohibit it by law. *Spartian* in *Vita Adriani et Jul. Capitolin.* in *Marco. Heliogabalus*, on the contrary, bathed himself along with the women, and as it was countenanced by the Emperor's example, this practice must again have become universal. *Æl. Lamprid.* in *Heliogabalo* and *Alexandro Severo*: for his successor, *Alexander*, prohibited it afresh. These laws, however, seem to have fallen into oblivion, since even the Christians retained this immoral practice, affording occasion to many synods to compose decrees for the prohibition of it. The Council of *Laodicea*, in the 30th canon, forbids the bathing of men with women. But this decree, though often rigorously insisted on, was continually transgressed against, and even Priests and Friars bathed in common with the women, 'till the Council, held at *Trullo*, again prohibited it by the 77th canon. And the Emperor *Justinian*, in his 117th *Novell*, among the lawful causes of divorce mentions likewise that of a married woman's having bathed at the same time with men, without the permission of her husband. Russia very probably received the custom of bathing, together with the Christian Religion, from *Constantinople*, and from thence the immoral practice above-mentioned, which, however, principally subsists in the country, seems to have been introduced among them. People of distinction, indeed, have always their own baths, which no one uses but themselves. The rubber here mentioned, consisting of herbs or rods, is also used in Russia. The Russians, indeed, always run immediately out of their hot baths into some neighbouring pond, and in the winter time roll themselves in the snow.

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gant lamentations and grief, that it appeared just as if the deceased had laid himself down and fallen into a sweet sleep. If the person who died was married, the widow, on the day of burial, prepared a sumptuous banquet for the neighbours; when she herself as well as her guests, appeared in their best clothes; and on this occasion she intreated the guests to eat and drink heartily in memory of the deceased, and to his eternal repose and happiness. They went constantly to church, praying there very devoutly on their knees, and kept the fast-days very strictly.

Their houses were made of wood, and were of a round form, with a hole in the middle of the roof for the admission of the light, which hole in winter they covered with a transparent fish-skin, on account of the severity of the cold. Their clothes were made of coarse cloth, manufactured at London and elsewhere. As to furs, they wore them but seldom; but, in order to use themselves the better to the cold, they would lay their new-born infants, the fourth day after their birth, naked, under the sky-light, which they then opened in order to let the snow fall upon them; for it snowed almost continually during the whole winter that Quirini's people were there, from the 5th of February to the 14th of May. In consequence of this treatment the boys are so inured to the cold, and become so hardy, that they do not mind it in the least.

The Isle of Roft is surrounded by a great number of sea-fowl, which the inhabitants in their language call Muxi*. They are fond of living

* The Norwegians call this species of sea-mew or gull, *Maase*. It is therefore, in all probability, the *Larus Candidus*, a new species, and quite white, of the gull kind, which, in the Voyage of Capt. Phipps (now Lord Mulgrave) towards the North Pole, London, 1774, p. 187, 188, is called *Larus eburneus*; and in *John Miller's Plates*, Plate XII. *Larus Albus*; but in Otho Fabricius's *Fauna Groenlandica*, p. 103, and in *Muller's Prodrom. Zool. Dan.* p. VIII. it is denominated the *Larus Candidus*, and seems to be the same bird with that which in *Frederic Marten's Voyage to Spitzbergen*, p. 56, Tab. I. a. is called the *Ratbs herr*; and in *Leem's Description of Lapland*, the *Wald Maase*.

ing near mankind, and are as tame as the common pigeons. They make an incessant noise, excepting in the summer, when it is one continued day, and then they are silent for about four hours, and this silence serves to point out to the inhabitants the proper time for them to retire to rest. In the early part of the spring arrived also an amazing number of wild-geese, that made their nests upon the island, and that sometimes against the walls of the houses. They likewise were very tame, insomuch that when the mistress of the house went to take some eggs out of their nests, the female would walk slowly from the nest, and stay away till the housewife had taken as many eggs as she wanted for baking. As soon as the good woman was gone, the goose would immediately set herself on the nest again.

In the month of May the inhabitants began to prepare for their voyage to *Bergen*, and were willing also to take the strangers along with them. Some days before their departure the intelligence of their being at *Rosloe* reached the wife of the Governor over all these islands; and her husband being at that time absent, she sent her Chaplain to *Quirini* with a present of 60 stockfish, three large flat loaves of rye bread, and a cake; and at the same time let him know that she had been informed their hosts had not used them well, and desired them to mention in what point they had been wronged, and that they should receive instant satisfaction; it was also recommended to the inhabitants to treat them well, and to take them over to *Bergen* along with them. They thanked the Lady, and giving their testimony to the innocence of their hosts, spoke of the reception they had met with in the highest terms; and as *Quirini* had still remaining a string of amber

The Greenlanders, however, give it the name of *Vagavarsuk*. It is a very bold bird, and is found only a great way to the northward, in *Finmark*, *Norway*, *Island*, *Greenland*, and *Spitzbergen*. This *maase*, or sea-gull, is probably the white sea fowl *Maxis* described above by *Quirini*.

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beads, which he had brought from St. Jago in Galicia, he took the liberty of sending them to the Lady, and desired her to pray to God with them for their safe return to their own country.

When the time of their departure was come, the people, by the advice of the Dominican Friar, forced them to pay two crowns for each month, that is, seven crowns a-piece; and as they had not cash enough about them, they gave, besides money, six silver cups, six forks, and six spoons, together with some other articles of small value, such as girdles and rings. The greater part of these things fell into the hands of the rascally Priest, who, that nothing might be left to them of this unfortunate voyage, did not scruple to take them, under pretence that it was due to him for having acted as their interpreter. On the day of their departure all the inhabitants of Rost made them presents of fish, and, at taking leave, the women and children shed tears, as did also the strangers themselves. The Priest, however, accompanied them, in order to pay a visit to his Archbishop, and give him part of his booty.

At their departure from Rost, the season was so far advanced, that, at the end of the month of May, during their run, they saw the image of the sun 48 hours above the horizon; but, as they continued sailing farther on towards the south, they lost the sun for a short time, though but for one hour, it being all the while broad day-light. They sailed constantly between the rocks, and they perceived here and there, near the projecting points of the land, marks of deep and navigable water. Many of these rocks were inhabited; and they were kindly received by the inhabitants, who gave them meat and drink without accepting any recompence. The sea-fowl, that when awake were always so loud and noisy, they found had built their nests upon all these rocks, and the stillness and silence of these birds was a signal for them also to retire to sleep.

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In the course of their voyage they met the Bishop of *Trondon* (*Drontheim*) who, with two gallies, was making the tour of his diocese, which extended all over these countries and islands, attended by above 200 people. To this Prelate they were now presented, who, when he was informed of their misfortunes, their rank, and family, expressed great compassion for them. He gave them a letter of recommendation for *Trondon*, his archiepiscopal see, where *St. Olave*, one of the Kings of Norway, was buried, which procured them a kind reception; and a horse was given to *Quirini*. But as the King of Norway happened at that time to be at war with the Germans, their host, who was likewise master of the vessel, refused to sail any farther, but landed at a little inhabited isle near *Drontheim*; and, after recommending them to the inhabitants, returned directly. The next day, being Ascension-Day, they were conducted to *Drontheim*, into the church of *St. Olave*, which was very handsomely ornamented, and where they found the Lord Lieutenant with all the inhabitants. There they heard mass, after which they were conducted before the Lord Lieutenant, who immediately asked *Quirini* if he spoke Latin? and being informed by him that he did, invited him, together with all his attendants, to his table, whither they were conducted by a Canon. They were afterwards taken, by this same Canon, to good comfortable lodgings, and amply provided with all kinds of necessaries.

Quirini wished for nothing more than to return to his own country; and he therefore desired advice and assistance to enable him to return home by the way of Germany or England. That they might avoid travelling too much by sea, which was not safe on account of the war, they were advised to apply to their countryman, *Giovanne Franco*, whom the King of Denmark had knighted, and who resided at his castle of

Stichimborg (Stegeborg, in East Gothland) in the kingdom of Sweden, 50 days journey from Drontheim. Eight days after their arrival, the Lord Lieutenant gave them two horses and a guide, to take them to *Stichimborg*: but as Quirini had presented the Lord Lieutenant with his share of the stockfish, a silver seal, and a silver girdle, he received from the latter a hat, a pair of boots, spurs, and leathern cloak-bags, and a small axe, with the image of St. Olave, and the Lord Lieutenant's coat of arms on it, together with a packet of herrings, some bread, and four guilders Rhenish. They had besides this, a third horse from the Archbishop of Drontheim; and now, being twelve in number, they all set out together on their journey, with their guide and three horses. They travelled on for the space of 53 days, chiefly to the southward (south-east) and frequently met with such miserable inns on the road, that they could not even procure bread at them. In some places they ground the bark of trees, and, with milk and butter, made cakes of it, which they eat instead of bread. Besides this, they had milk, butter, and cheese, given them, and whey for drink. They still proceeded on their journey, and sometimes met with better inns, where they could have meat and beer. One thing, however, they every where found in great abundance; and this was a kind and friendly reception, so that they were extremely welcome wherever they went.

There are but few dwellings in Norway, and they often arrived in the night, at the hour of repose, though it was not dark, but broad day-light. Their guide, who knew the custom of the country, opened the door of the house, in which they found a table, surrounded by benches, covered with leathern cushions, stuffed with feathers, which served instead of mattresses. As nothing was kept locked up, they took some of the victuals they found ready there, and then went to rest. Sometimes the masters of the house happened to come in, and see them asleep, and were much amazed, 'till the guide, who heard them,

acquainted them with all the particulars, upon which their astonishment was mingled with compassion, and they gave the travellers every necessary without taking any recompence, by which means these 12 people and three horses did not spend, on a journey of 53 days, more than the four guilders they had received at Drontheim.

On the road they met with horrid barren mountains and vallies, and with a great number of animals, like roes (reindeers, *Cervus tarandus*) besides fowls, as hase-hens, and heath-cocks, which were as white as snow (probably ptarmigans, *tetrao lagopus*) and pheasants of the size of a goose (probably the *tetrao urogallus*). In St. Olave's church they saw the skin of a white bear, which was 14 feet and a half long. Other birds, such as gerfalcons (*Falco Gyrfalcus*) goss-hawks (*falco affur Brifs.*) and various other sorts of hawks are whiter here than common, on account of the great cold of the country.

Four days before they reached *Stichimborg* (Stegeborg) they came to a place called *Vastbena* (Wadstena) where St. Bridget was born, and had founded a monastery of Nuns, together with Chaplains of the same order. At this place the northern Kings and Princes have built a most magnificent church, covered with copper, in which they counted 62 altars. The Nuns and Chaplains received the strangers very kindly, who, after two days stay there, at length set out in order to wait on the Chevalier *John Franco*, who did all he could to comfort them in their distress, and relieved them in a manner that did honour to his generosity. A fortnight after, there was given at St. Brigitta's church in *Wadstena*, a plenary indulgence, of which the people of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as those of Germany, Holland, and Scotland, came to partake. Some of them came from the distance of 600 miles.

They went to the indulgence at Wadstena with the Chevalier *John Franco*, in order to see whether they could not procure some intelligence there of any ships bound for Germany or England, there being always
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at that time a great concourse of people. The Chevalier was five days on the road, and had more than 100 horses in his train. Here they took leave of their beneficent countryman, who had furnished them plentifully with clothes and money for their journey, and had ordered his son *Mathew*, a very amiable young man, to accompany them to the distance of eight days journey to *Lodese* (on the *Gotha Elf*) where they were lodged at his own house, the ship not setting sail directly. He had lent them his own horses all the way from *Stichimburg*; and, as *Quirini* was ill of a fever, he mounted him on a horse, which had an easier pace than ever he had met with in one of these animals before. From *Lodese* three of his crew went home in a vessel bound for *Rostock*, and eight of them accompanied him to England, where they came to their friends in *London*, by way of *Ely* and *Cambridge*; and, after a two months residence there, continued their route through Germany and *Basil*, and at length, in the space of 24 days, arrived safe and in good health at *Venice*.

We see in this most unfortunate voyage of *Quirini*, in the first place, a concourse of misfortunes which one would hardly suppose human nature able to support: but great spirit, vigorous efforts, perseverance, and the employ of the most rational means that can be devised, often make things possible, which, in other circumstances, would be absolutely impossible; and thus serve to shew, in an eminent manner, of what great advantage the use of reason and resolution is in difficulties and dangers.

One observation of *Quirini*, having been so often confirmed since, deserves attention. Those who, when the ship was in great distress, had given all up for lost, and, without moderation, had drunk the fine *Malvasia* wine, which they had on board, when the want of provisions began to be felt, and the scurvy commenced its ravages, soon died,
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and that suddenly; while those who had lived temperately held out longer, and, indeed, for the most part, saved their lives. In like manner those who had approached too near the fire, in order to warm themselves, paid for this rash action with their lives; while, on the other hand, such as had recourse to the unnatural expedient of drinking their own urine, an expedient which is likewise to most people highly disgusting, even when urged to it by the most intolerable thirst, escaped the jaws of death. We may observe farther, that the drinking of sea-water proved very beneficial to these adventurers, and that the great quantity of snow they had swallowed on their landing did not hurt them in the least. The different kinds of shell-fish and the flesh of a dolphin, upon which they fed, undoubtedly served to keep them all alive.

The Description of the state of Norway, and of its commerce, together with the picture of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, are extremely fine fragments of the history of mankind. The three northern kingdoms were at that time governed by King Erich, of Pomerania, and, considering the times, the state of them was not absolutely bad. We see that the cattle made the principal food of the inhabitants, that corn was very scarce, and that, just as it does now in the mountains and in barren years, the bark of trees, mixed with a certain quantity of flower, milk, and butter, served them for food. Money, on the other hand, was scarce; and a little silver plate, and a few trinkets, were very acceptable presents. To Quirini, as a Venetian, the length of the days in summer *, and that of the nights
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* Though the day-light lasted very long, or rather, though it was but one continued day, when Quirini went from the isle of Rostoe to Drontheim, his guides used nevertheless to go to sleep, when the rest and the stillness of the birds gave them the signal for so doing. This circumstance, therefore, explains in a new yet decisive manner the passage in *Obiter's* description of his voyage to *Sciringas-beal* (Vid. *supra* p. 67) where he says, "No one could fail

in winter, the great quantity of water-fowl, that were so little shy, and the singular chastity and the purity of morals of the northern nations, must necessarily have appeared extremely striking. And, lastly, we see the stockfish and herring trade, even at that time, in a flourishing state. In short, it is, in my opinion, one of those voyages, which, from the general utility of their contents, are as instructive as they are important.

GENERAL VIEW of the STATE of AFFAIRS at this Period.

FROM the 4th and 5th centuries, the barbarous nations of the North had in Spain, Gaul, and England, nay, in Italy itself, raised the provinces they had taken from the Romans, a second time to the dignity of kingdoms. But the form of their Governments, the preceding wars they had sustained, and the devastations attendant on these wars, together with the dreadful cruelty with which the new possessors ravaged these countries on taking possession of them, in the wantonness of their power slaughtering the poor inhabitants by millions; all these circumstances were at the same time productive of great debility in these newly-founded kingdoms. The country, stripped of its labourers, lay uncultivated, was over-grown with bushes, and in process of time was covered with thick, gloomy forests, the habitations of voracious wild beasts, and asylums for robbers. The brooks

to it in a month, if he lay-to at night, though he had a fair wind every day;" so that it was the custom to lay-to at night with their vessels, even in the case of continual day-light; and this custom subsisted so early as in the time of Ohther, and was observed also in Quirini's time, 533 years afterwards. It is evident, therefore, that this seemingly-suspicious expression was not used without design or meaning, but had its origin and foundation in the manners of the country.

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and rivers, formerly kept within due bounds by banks and dykes, now broke through these limits that had been set them by the industry of man, and overflowing the meads which had before been rescued from their ravages, remained on them so long, 'till these latter were converted into putrid marshes, replete with noxious vapours. In fine, the earth, embellished in consequence of a high degree of population, of cultivation, and of a luxury, carried perhaps too great a height, sunk again into a wild and dreary desert, almost unprofitable and useless to man. Cities, once the seats of industry, arts, and commerce, were pillaged and destroyed by fire, and the few remaining inhabitants, bewailing in the sad ruins the loss of their former prosperity, with dejected minds and depressed spirits, became the vassals of their insolent victors. As for law and justice they were at this time utterly banished out of Europe. Every man of courage, strength of body, dexterity in wielding weapons, and in the management of the horse; who had influence enough to assemble a train of disorderly banditti, became their leader, and gloried in imposing, far and near, the iron yoke of slavery and oppression. These petty tyrants (of which there were many) sat in their castles, and paid casual homage to a sovereign almost without power or authority, while each of this lawless train committed such outrages as he was able upon the rest of the people, whom toil and tyranny had now nearly exhausted. Popery, and its superstitious rites, effectually banished religion and its sacred influences. For the worship of God in spirit and in truth, was substituted that of saints; for virtue, probity, and purity of life, were introduced penances, corporal chastisements, works of supererogation, and the power of indulgencies. All freedom of thought was totally suppressed by the influence of legions of Monks, and the frowns of a haughty and jealous Hierarchy. Numberless pretended miracles, and endless scholastic controversies, completed this mis-

rable system of barbarism and idolatry. In short, the corruption of manners pervaded all ranks and classes of men, proceeding from the Prince on his throne to the Monk in his cell, and to the Priest attendant on the altar; and thence arising again to the Abbots and Bishops, up to the very head of the Church, who founded and sustained his papal authority, by persecution, treachery, and murder. There was no longer the least spark of knowledge or information to be found in all Christendom. The great vassals could seldom read, and hardly ever write. Taste, the arts, decency, and decorum, were not to be expected in the desolation, the gloomy obscurity, and the depth of barbarity in which the whole of Europe was involved. The poor oppressed slave in the country bewailing his wretched state, led merely an animal or rather a vegetable life. In the few towns that remained, the inhabitants, in like manner, lived deprived of liberty, and exposed to all the oppressions of the great feudatory tenants of the crown and their vassals, which the caprice, insolence, and pride of a barbarian could at any time suggest. All the dreadful effects of the wildest and most unbridled passion, nurtured and supported by lasciviousness, drunkenness, avarice, revenge, and superstition, are to be found portrayed in the few rude annals and memoirs produced in these unfortunate ages. The Philosopher—the Philanthropist—is struck with horror, in contemplating the depth of misery and humiliation to which, from the want of information, and in consequence of moral as well as political corruption, mankind is capable of sinking. But, in contemplating this picture, he will naturally be led, on the other hand, to consider the means which an all-wise Providence has, with more than paternal kindness, made use of to bring men back to that happiness in social life, for which they were originally destined. In fact, it is these inordinate desires, these insatiable passions, this wild enthusiasm,

thufiasm, and this fanatical fuperftition, by which the Author of our exiftence conducts us again into the paths of virtue and knowledge, and to a ftate of exalted felicity.

———— Deus ille fuit ———

Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam quæ
Nunc appellatur fapientia; quippe per artem
Fluctibus e tantis vitam, tantifque tenebris
In tam tranquillo, & tam clara luce locavit.

Lucret. Lib. V. v. 7---12.

In the eaft, at Conftantinople, the altercations of the clergy, and the ambition of thofe who grasped after the Imperial dignity, had introduced the fame grofs ignorance and immorality into every rank and condition of life; and in the other parts of Aſia, the Arabian Caliphs, or fucceffors of Mahomet, in confequence of their voluptuousnefs, their inactivity, and of their impolitic reception of a number of Generals of the Turkiſh race into their kingdoms, and at their courts, had dwindled away into insignificant Mahometan Priests. Syria and Paleſtine had long been ſubject to Arabian Princes, who, in the ſtate of refinement to which they had arrived at that period, behaved to the Chriftians of thoſe provinces with great moderation; and from motives of policy and love of lucre, the pilgrims from the weſt, whom ſuperſtition and idle conceits had brought in crouds into thoſe parts, to viſit the holy ſepulchre, were received very favourably. But the Seldſchukidian Turks, as well from ſuperſtition as from a miſtruſt of theſe pilgrimages, which, indeed, were too frequently repeated, and with too numerous trains, began to oppreſs the Chriftians and uſe the pilgrims very ill. Theſe grievances, which were continually encreaſing, appeared to Hildebrand, Biſhop of Rome, important enough to induce him to ſummons all Chriſtendom to make war againſt the oppreſſors of Chriſtianity. But the diſputes in which Gregory VII. by his pride and ambition, had involved himſelf in Europe, prevented him from heading himſelf the

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army thus raised. Soon after, it happened that an enthusiastic Priest, who is known to posterity by the name of *Peter the Hermit*, was eye-witness to the injuries and oppressions under which the Christians in the east, as well as the pilgrims, groaned. His own heated imagination, the persuasions of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the approbation of Pope Urban, incited him to travel through all the countries of Europe, with tears in his eyes, stirring up the superstitious people to wreak their vengeance on the enemies, as they were termed, of Christianity. Every individual now, even to the very children, was filled with holy rage, and people ran in flocks to take part in this meritorious expedition. Thousands of them perished miserably; and, having undergone many hardships, the Christians at last got possession of a wild, waste country, without either cultivation or inhabitants, in which, however, lay Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places of sacred fame; and Constantinople itself, together with Cyprus and Greece, fell into the hands of the European Christians. These great peregrinations, however, of Christians, frantic with superstitious zeal, who frequently marked the whole course of their expedition by the most atrocious crimes, and the most infamous actions, and were, for the greater part, the very scum of the earth; these peregrinations were the cause of a revolution throughout all Europe, which, in fact, was attended with too great consequences to pass unnoticed by an inquisitive mind.

The landed nobility, and the Princes their Sovereigns, wanted money to equip them as well as to maintain them on these long expeditions; in consequence of which they sold the privileges which they had hitherto made so bad use of, over their poor subjects. To thousands of people they gave liberty in exchange for money; and bestowed on innumerable cities great privileges; and among others the power of choosing their own magistrates from among themselves, that of governing themselves by their own laws, and according to their own free election,

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that of levying their taxes among themselves, at their own discretion, and the privilege of defending themselves. Every burgher now might bequeath the fortune he had acquired to whomsoever he would, after his death; he might marry without first asking leave for that purpose of his liege Lord; he might appoint whomsoever he pleased to be guardians to his children; and, after having commenced a legal process, might accommodate matters with his adversary, without paying the fees in his Liege's court for an adjudication which had not been made; and merchants and artisans were relieved from the intolerable oppression of gifts and other extortions, with which they had before been harassed. Previous to this period the great feoffees only appeared in the assemblies of the nation, as representing the state, but now this privilege was bestowed on many towns and cities, in order to make a counterpoise to the too-preponderating powers of the great feudatory tenants and nobles; and, indeed, it was soon observed that these innovations were attended with the most desirable consequences with respect to the general good of mankind.

The citizen, who was now assured that the fruits of his industry would be reaped by himself and his children, was thereby excited to work with redoubled ardour, as well as to the invention of new arts and trades. The merchant was seen to brave dangers with fresh courage, and, inspired by the hope of gain, to trust his life and property to the mercy of the winds and waves: and every one, of what profession soever he was, turned all his thoughts to the procuring of an honest livelihood by industry, talents, and perseverance. Finally, for the greater security of the subject, the perpetual frays and skirmishes of the great vassals with each other were put an end to, and the civil peace was every where established. It was therefore found necessary to apply to judges for the distribution of justice. For this purpose new laws were introduced for cases that had never before been determined; and recourse

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was had to the long-forgotten Roman code of laws, in order to learn from it the principles of equity and justice, which had been so long neglected : from the ecclesiastical law were borrowed in part the regulations and forms of law suits, besides a great many rules and customs, as the clergy were in the exclusive possession of the little knowledge and learning that was left in the world at that period. The shameful practice of judiciary duels, which were commonly though blasphemously called *the Judgment of God*, was abolished, and the practice was introduced of making appeals to the higher Courts.

Europe now began, by little and little, to enjoy the blessed fruits of these young shoots of liberty which had been so lately planted. From the east, the pristine nursery of the arts and sciences, a second time were brought, by means of the very crusades themselves, new lights for the information of the human understanding, new arts and manufactures for the employment of the towns and cities, and new plants and animals for the improvement of rural œconomy. In Italy, the Genoese, together with the Venetians and the people of Pisa, by lending their ships to the crusaders, as well as by their share of the booty, had greatly enriched themselves, and consequently had not only a fair occasion considerably to augment the number of their vessels, but likewise to learn the places whence they could import silk, cotton, spices, and all the precious commodities of India, easier than by the way of Constantinople ; and in a short time they, with the rest of the free states of Italy, were in the sole possession of the whole trade not only of the Mediterranean, but also of the Black Sea. Even the German towns that lay scattered up and down all along the coasts of the Baltic and the German Ocean, began to unite in a confederacy for the purpose of promoting and extending their trade, a confederacy, which they distinguished by the title of the *Hanse*, a word of like import in the old German language. The Greeks too, and the Arabians, afforded the
Europeans

Europeans many opportunities of acquiring new science and fresh information; and though this ingrafted wisdom was principally employed by the Christians on religion and speculative philosophy, yet from this period learning began to be a regular occupation among the people of the West. Public schools were founded, and the learned had rank and precedence bestowed on them, besides enjoying other advantages; so that by degrees the dawn of science diffused itself every where, by which means the rude and unpolished western world was prepared for a long time before-hand for the Reformation, for the state in which learning subsists at present, for the still encreasing spirit of Toleration, and for the free spirit of enquiry by which these our times are distinguished.

In Palestine and Spain the rude warriors among the Christians had frequently occasion to experience the magnanimity, courage, and gallantry of the Saracen Knights. All these qualities imparted something so peculiarly great and splendid to the characters of the Knights above-mentioned, that the Christians considered it as an honour not only to imitate them in every article, but even to surpass them, and particularly in their attachment to religion, in their defence of oppressed innocence, in their respect for truth, and in the gentleness of their manners. The foundations of real honour, the greater humanity with which war is now carried on, and the politeness and reciprocal generosity subsisting even between foes, of which we have frequently in these times the happy experience amidst the horrors necessarily attendant on war, are the pure and genuine fruits of the knight-errantry of that period.

All this, taken collectively, without doubt contributed to liberate the human mind from those fetters of superstition, ignorance, and slothful indolence, by which it had hitherto been shackled. Individuals might now venture to acquire knowledge and information, without dreading either fire or sword, as the punishment of their audacity. A thirst

after knowledge was diffused over all Europe, and the public discovered a particular avidity for accounts and relations concerning foreign and remote countries, and long, extensive voyages and travels into distant parts. The establishment of the more quiet possession of private property, encouraged the merchant to still greater undertakings; exciting him, from a desire of gain, to navigate unknown seas, and to brave every danger. On the other hand, the enthusiastic desire of diffusing the doctrines of Christianity, and of subjecting whole nations and countries to Christ and the Roman Pontificate, still continued to be a great motive for undertaking new travels into distant regions. The spirit of Knight-errantry, too, and the desire of achieving heroic actions in the wars, such as might assure everlasting glory and renown to the performers of them, contributed their share towards inducing many persons to range up and down the most remote countries. The encreasing trade of the Italians, together with the great progress they made in the arts, as well as the great profits made by the northern merchants who were united in the *Hansa*, or Hanseatic league, excited from time to time several enterprising minds to undertake voyages, which, considering the ignorance which still prevailed in respect to foreign nations and countries, were then much more dangerous than they are at present. The important discovery of the magnetic needle for the purposes of navigation gave new advantages to this art, and made a great addition to the knowledge possessed by those times in relation to different people and countries: and whereas before this, people had scarcely ventured to go out of sight of the shore, they now boldly sailed across the greatest seas. Now, if we even put the date of this invention so early as the year 1200, yet then we find the compass so commonly known about this period, that the fishermen in the Orkneys made use of the compass so early as 180 years afterwards, viz. about the year 1380.

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The immense riches which the Venetians had acquired by the monopoly of the Eastern and Indian trade, the skill and experience they had attained in navigation, as well as the information they had obtained relative to the distant nations and climates, prepared the world for those great and important discoveries, and the revolutions consequent thereon, which have given to Europe and the western world a quite different form to what they had before.

By the taking of Constantinople, in which the Turks at length succeeded under Mahomet the II^d, the Greeks were dispersed into different parts of the world. Some of these fled to Italy, whither they carried their learning, arts, and handicraft professions. This incident served in some measure to add to the knowledge of the people among whom they sojourned, to refine their taste, and to give greater perfection to their manufactures, and consequently likewise to their navigation. To the people of the West, who, by means of their conquests as well as their commerce, were continually extending themselves over the globe, the vast and encreasing power of the Turks served, by way of barrier, which lay in their way invincible obstacles to their penetrating any farther to the eastward. Consequently they were now obliged to turn the course of their navigation, trade, and discoveries in the west towards the northern and southern regions, where they did not meet with any such obstacles; an undertaking which at last was likewise crowned with the greatest success.

STRICTURES *and* REMARKS on BOOK H.

I. Of Andanicum, or Steel.

PAGE 135: According to the account given here by Marco Polo, of the province of *Chinchintalas*, there is in this district a mountain which produces steel ore and *Andanicum*. At the time that I transcribed this passage, I was not able to give any intelligence concerning the meaning of the word. But Ramusio, to the 2d Part of his Collection of Voyages, has prefixed a *Dichiarazione d'alcuni luoghi ne libri de Marco Polo*, in which (page 14) he affirms that the word *Andanicum** signifies the best steel; and farther, that when any of the Orientals had a spear or sabre of *Andanicum*, he valued it as highly as though it had been the most precious jewel.

* The origin of the word *Andanicum* has caused me a great deal of trouble; for as Ramusio says, that he had learned the meaning of this word of *Messer Micheli Mambré*, the Turkish Interpreter to the Republic of Venice, and as likewise *Chinchintalas* is not at a great distance from the ancient *Turkestan*, I thought myself justified in looking into the Turkish language for its origin; but finding in this tongue only the word *دشك* *dschenk*, which means *war*, I conjectured that a nation as warlike as the Turks have been for many years past, might have called the best kind of steel, which they used for their spears and sabres, *Dschenksebi*, i. e. *the warrior*, agreeably to the figurative mode of expression not unusual with the Eastern Nations; conceiving at the same time, that an Italian might have pronounced this word *Daniko*, or *Al-Daniko*, or, by elision of the *l*, *Ad-Daniki*, which comes pretty near to *Andanicum*, or *Andanico*. Still, however, I had my doubts with respect to this etymology. Therefore I had recourse to the Persian language, and found there, together with two more words which signify *steel*, the word *دشك* *dschenk*, or *dschanck*, which apparently makes the nearest approaches of any to the word *ad-danck* and *al-danck*, and thus may have given rise to that of *andaniko*.

Our ingenious Professor, Dr. Knapp, supposes, that this *Andanicum* might have been also called *Andalicum*, and this been derived from the Arabic *انك*, to *unsheath the sword*, or from *انك* of which many substantives are formed, which signify *sharpness*, *point*, *polish*, &c. observing, at the same time, that the words *انك* Or *انك* *acuminatus*, *muconatus*, *politus*, bear a great resemblance to each other. I am not capable of deciding this point, and therefore leave it to be determined by others, who, having more skill in this department of science, are better intitled to judge of the matter.

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II. Of Rhubarb, and the Place called Suckuk.

AT page 135, *Marco Polo* informs us, that, upon the mountains, in the country of *Suchur*, grows the best *Rhubarb*, in great quantities, from whence the merchants carry it all over the world. Accordingly *Ramusio* enquired of one *Hadschi Mehemet*, a Persian merchant from *Tabas in Gbilan*, concerning the *Rawend*, or *Rewend Tschin*, i. e. *Rhubarb*, and where it grows, as well as concerning the whole commerce of this commodity; this merchant having some months before brought a great quantity of *Rhubarb* to Venice.

Hadschi Mehemet (called here *Chaggi Memet*) had been himself to *Succuir* and *Campion*, in the country of the Great Khan; and, indeed, excepting Ambassadors to the Khan, no merchants are suffered to penetrate farther into Kathai than to *Succuir* and *Campion*. Both these towns are built of brick and freestone. The Great Khan sends his Viceroy thither to govern them. They are merely inhabited by Idolaters, and there are no Mahometans to be met with till one comes to *Camul*. The name of the Great Khan at the time when *Hadschi Mehemet* was in Kathai, was *Daimir Can* *.

* *Daimir-Khan* would seem to be the same as *Timur-Khan*, the immediate successor to *Kublai-Khan*; but the former bore the sovereign sway in China and Kathay from the year 1294 to 1307, and, as *Ramusio* wrote about the year 1553, this Khan could not be meant here; and indeed had a Mogul Emperor at that time filled the Throne, the Persian and Bukharian merchants would not have been hindered from penetrating farther into Kathay; for this restriction commenced only with the reign of the new race of the family of *Ming*, which had expelled the Moguls out of China. Probably at that time *Tschingis*, or *Kiat Sing* was Emperor, who reigned full 45 years, from the year 1521 to 1566, and under whose auspices the Jesuits established themselves in China. But why *Hadschi Mehemet* calls him *Daimir-Khan*, I confess I cannot in the least comprehend.

The town of *Succuir*, in the province of *Tanguth*, is large and populous, and is situated on a plain, through which run a great number of small rivulets. It has abundance of provisions of every kind, and a great quantity of silk is raised there on the leaves of the black mulberry-tree. It produces no wine, but the inhabitants brew a kind of drink from honey, in imitation of beer. On account of the cold of the climate no fruits grow there except pears, apples, apricots, peaches, melons, and water-melons.

The Rhubarb plant grows all over this province, but no where better than on some neighbouring rocky mountains (*Sassofe Montagne*), on which there are a great many springs, and forests consisting of different kinds of high trees. The soil, however, is of a red (rosso) colour, and almost always boggy, on account of the great quantity of rain that falls, and of the vast number of brooks by which the country is intersected. The leaves of this plant are commonly two spans in length, are narrower at bottom, and wider at top. The margin of the leaf is surrounded by a woolly matter. The stalks on which the leaves grow are green, and about a span and four inches long; the leaves themselves at first are green, but in time become yellow, and spread vastly on the surface of the earth. In the middle grows a stem, which bears flowers round about, of the shape of a clove gilliflower, (*viole mammoie*) and are of a milk white and light-blue colour. The scent of them is strong and nauseous, so that these flowers are both unpleasant to the smell and to the sight. The root is one, two, and sometimes three spans long; the colour of the bark is a chestnut-brown. It is as thick as the lower part of a man's leg; some, indeed, are as thick as a man's loins. Out of the great root proceeds a considerable number of very small radicles, which spread greatly in the earth. These

are taken away, when the great root is to be cut in pieces, which is yellow internally, with many beautiful red veins full of a clammy yellow juice that stains the fingers and hands of a yellow colour. Were the root hung up immediately, all the juice would run out of it, and the root itself would become light and unserviceable. The pieces, therefore, are first laid upon long tables, and turned three or four times a day, in order that the juice may incorporate with, and, as it were, coagulate in, the substance of the root. Four, five, or six days after this, holes are made through them, and they are hung up on strings, exposed to the air and the wind, care being taken at the same time, that the sun-beams should not come to them; and in this manner the roots become dry, and arrive at their full perfection in the space of two months. The roots are dug up in winter, before they put forth their leaves, because at this time the juice and the whole virtue of the plant is confined to the root. The spring, however, does not commence in the provinces of *Campion* and *Succuir* before the end of May. Those roots which are taken up in summer, when they have put forth their leaves, continue to be light, spungy, full of holes, and without substance; neither have they the yellow colour of those that have been dug in the winter, but, notwithstanding that they are red, they are not equally good with those which were taken out of the ground before the spring. Those who dig the roots on the mountains, carry them, either on carts or upon horses backs, down into the plain, and to *Succuir*; when they sell them at the rate of 16 small weights of silver (*Saggio*, each being of the value of 20 Venetian soldi) for a cart-load.

To make up one small horse-load of perfectly dry Rhubarb, it will take seven loads of green roots, newly dug out of the ground. The Rhubarb, when green, is so very bitter, that one cannot venture
even

even to taste it. If the roots are not cleaned and cut immediately within the space of five or six days after they have been taken out of the ground, they grow soft and rotten. In Kathay the root is in no estimation, and in some places they use it for fuel, or else in the diseases of horses; and indeed no more of them are dug up than what are bespoken. But there is another small root far more esteemed, which grows on the Rhubarb mountains of *Succuir*: this root is called *Mambroni Tschin*, and is very dear withal. They use to grind this root on a stone with rose-water, and anoint the eyes with it, by which means they find astonishing relief. All over Kathay, they make use also of the leaves of another plant, called *Tschiai Tschin* (Chinese tea) which grows chiefly in the province called *Katschianfu*. The dried leaves of this plant are boiled in water, and of this decoction they take fasting a cup or two as hot as possible; when it is looked upon to be very serviceable in head-achs, fevers, complaints of the stomach, rheumatism, and several other diseases; but particularly in the gout.

With regard to the road which leads from *Succuir* and *Kampion* to Constantinople, *Mebemet Hadschi* relates, that going thither with the caravan, he had taken a road quite different from that by which he returned; for just as he was ready to set out with the caravan, on his way homewards, the Tartars with the green caps (who thence are called *Jeschil-Basch*)* had resolved, to send an ambassador with a numerous retinue to Constantinople to the Grand Turk, through the desert part of Tartary to the northward of the Caspian sea, for the purpose of concluding a treaty of alliance with the Turks against the Sophi, their mutual enemy. Foreseeing now many advantages therein,

* The Usbecks are called *Jeschilbasch* (i. e. Greenheads) on account of the green caps which they wear in their turbans, in like manner as the Persians, on account of the red bonnets in their turbans, are called *Kifilbasch* (or Redheads).

even setting aside that of the road, he had undertaken the journey with them as far as Kaffa (in Crimea); but if he had come back with the caravans, he must have passed through the following places. At the same time he remarked, that the length of the road was measured by days journies, consisting of eight *farfengs* (parasangs) each, and each of these again were computed to be equal to three Venetian miles, (of which latter 58 or 59 make a degree.)

Kampion (Kampition, Kampion, or Kantscheu, in the province of Schensi, on the river Etziné-Moreu) is a large city, surrounded with a thick double wall, filled up with earth, and situated in a fertile, well-cultivated plain. The houses are of brick, two or three stories high, and elegantly painted. The temples are magnificent, being built with free-stone, and ornamented with idols of a gigantic size, gilded all over, and some smaller ones, having six or seven heads and ten hands, each hand holding a serpent, a bird, a flower, or other similar devices. The inhabitants are numerous, are extremely skilful in stone-masonry, and have very large blocks of stones brought them from the quarries, on waggons with 40 wheels, drawn by five or six hundred horses or mules each. Their long garments are made of black cotton, and in winter are lined with wolf's or sheep's furs. But the people of rank make use of sable and marten furs for this purpose. Their hats, which are black, are pointed at the top like sugar-loaves. White is with them the colour for mourning. They are not tall. They make use of presses for printing their books. From this city of *Kampion* to *Gauta*. (Ganta, Kenta) it is six days journey, and but five from *Gauta* to *Succuir** (according to Marco Polo, Suckur). From *Succuir* you

* This *Succuir*, which has also been mentioned before at page 170, in Marco Polo's account of his travels, at that time I took for the city of *Souck*, or *Swik*, on the river *Suck*, which discharges itself into the river Pegu, to the northward of Tibet, and to the southward of *Kokonor*: but by this relation of *Hadschi Mehmed*, I am now convinced, that we must look for this town farther to the northward, on the river *Etziné-moren*, perhaps on the lake *Sobuk*, *Subuk*, or *Sukuk*, into which the the above river runs. In these parts there are high mountains, and several pieces of water, and the whole situation is very convenient for rhubarb mountains, such as those described by *Hadschi Mehmed*.

go in 15 days to *Kamul* (alias *Khamul*, *Kamil*, *Hamil*, *Hamî*, *Khamî*, *Camexu*). Here the habitations of the Mahometans begin, and those of the Idolaters terminate. From *Kamul* to *Turfon* (*Turfan*) it is 13 days journey. From *Turfon* they went through three towns, the first of which, named *Cbialis* (*Goez* calls it *Chalis*, it is also called *Cialis*) is 10 days journey from thence; the second is called *Cbucbi* (according *Goez*, *Kuscha*) at the distance of 10 days more; and, lastly, *Acfu* (*Akfu*, the white river) 20 days journey farther on. From *Acfu* to *Casfar* (*Chasfar*, *Cassar*, *Kaschar*, *Haficar*) it is 20 days journey through a horrid defart, but till then they had passed through inhabited regions. From *Casfar* it is 25 days journey to *Samarkand*; from *Samarkand* to *Bochara* (*Bokkara*) in *Corassam* (*Khorasan*) five; and from *Bochiar* to *Eri* (*Heri*, *Herat*) 20 days journey. From *Eri* to *Veremi* (*Varami* to the south-east of *Kasbin*, in *Irakadschemi*) one may travel in 15 days; from thence to *Casbin* (*Kasbin*) it is six; from *Casbin* to *Soltania* (*Sultania*) four; and, finally, from *Soltania* to *Tauris* (*Tevris*, *Tebriz*) which is a large town, it is six days journey.

From this circumstantial relation of *Hadschi Mehemet* we learn, that the genuine Rhubarb plant is not the *Rheum palmatum*, as it is even now frequently supposed to be; and we are induced, on the contrary, to credit the information given us by *M. Pallas*, relative to this subject. We also find, that to cultivate Rhubarb in Europe to advantage, we must look for a soil in a mountainous country, watered by a number of rivulets; it should have a stratum of stone under it, and perhaps contain Iron. A soil of this kind may, in all probability, be easily found in the lofty mountains of *Mansfield*, *Halberstadt*, and of *Silesia*; as likewise in *Upper Silesia*. Lastly, we also learn from the preceding account, of how great a consequence it is to the goodness of Rhubarb, that the roots be dug up exactly at the proper time, and that the proper methods of cleansing and drying it be pursued. Perhaps the information here given may serve to promote the culture of Rhubarb in Europe,

rope, and likewise Germany, and particularly in the Prussian territories. Finally, these relations serve to establish, with greater precision than before the situation, of the places lying between the Caspian Sea and the Chinese wall.

III. *Of the Gothic Language.*

IN page 97 and 170 the reader will find, in the narratives of *Ruybroek* and *Josaphat Barbaro*, an account of some Goths in the Crimea, who spoke a language resembling the German. This has been confirmed by *Busbeck* and Father *Mabndorf*; and the former even gives us a very considerable list of Gothic words. In the year 1779, the learned Professor *Semmler*, in a festal *Programma*, explained and illustrated a festival celebrity of the Court of Byzantium, called ΤΟ ΓΟΤΘΙΚΟΝ. In the twelve days between Christmas and the festival of the Epiphany, a number of people, dressed in a strange, uncouth manner, representing Goths, advanced in two different parties, and walked in procession in the Emperor's presence, and finally sang a song in the language of their own country (οικειον μελος) accompanied by the Pandure. Upon this, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in his Book *de Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, p. 223, cites some foreign sounding words, which, in all probability, constituted part of the οικειον μελος. At page 224 and 225, there is added a Λεξικον των εν τω Γοτθικω αδυμενων (or, a Dictionary of the words sung in the Gothic); together with another explanation of these words. These are doubtless by a more modern hand, and give the explication of Gothic words from the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew; therefore we cannot rely greatly on these explanations. Dr. Semmler, in the *Programma* mentioned above, gives it as his opinion, that all these words,

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without any distinction, are Latin. As much as I respect the uncommonly extensive and withal solid erudition of this great literary Genius, yet I cannot be persuaded, by the arguments he adduces, to look on the whole of this composition as Latin, especially as Constantine expressly intitles it οἰκειον μελος, a domestic (i. e. a Gothic) song. Kodianus says, that in his time, at the Court of Byzantium, the Wæringers at Christmas had paid their duty to the Emperor, and wished him health and happiness in their own, i. e. in the English, tongue (Ιγνλisci). Another party, viz. consisting of Wardariotians, likewise paid their compliments in their, viz. in the *Persian* language (περσισι). Consequently it appears that we may conclude from hence, that it was considered as an addition to the magnificence of the Court festivals for people of foreign nations to wish the Emperor joy in their own languages. Hence I suspect, that the words, cited by Constantine, are Gothic; and as these words are sung by two chorusses, it came into my head that possibly the Gothic words might occur in this relique of antiquity, translated into another language. Moreover, it appeared to me, that agreeably to what Professor Semmler has already shewn us, there is actually a great number of Latin words in it; and the rather, as I found that, previously to this conjecture of mine, the second interpreter of the words had placed them on opposite sides, as though they had been actually sung by two chorusses. I therefore thought it might be worth while to examine into this fragment of the Gothic tongue, and, as far as it was possible to be done, to explain it. As we have so few reliques of this language, they are all extremely valuable. It appears, moreover, that at the Imperial Court of Constantinople the Gothic Life-Guards made a practice of going through this ceremony, as long as they actually belonged to the Emperor's Guards; but afterwards the Goths, on the one hand, becoming scarce and difficult to be procured, and on the other, having lost likewise their reputation for valour, the Imperial Body Guard was chosen from the Franks

and Wæringians, Saracens, Persians, Farganians, Chazarians, and other nations, as the late Professor Reiske has already shewn in his Notes upon Constantine Porphyrogeneta. That in copying such a number of words from one or more foreign languages, some mistakes must necessarily have been committed, few of my readers, who have at all attended to this subject, will be disposed to doubt. We will therefore first place all the words one after another, and then set about arranging and explaining them in the manner in which it appears probable that they were sung by the two chorusses.

γαυζας· βονας· βρηηδιας· αγια· γαυδεντες· ελκηβονιδες· ενεργους· αγια·
 βονα· ωρα· τετη· βαντες· βονα αμορε· επισκυαυτες· ιδισαλβαυτες· νανα· δευς·
 δευς· σεβακιβα· νανα· γυβιλυς· γυβελαρς· νανα· τε γεγδεμα· δε τελβελε·
 νικατω τελδο· νανα· βερ· βεριμ· τε ιγγιμα· γεργιρεδρω· νανα· εικαδιασ·
 περιτρεις.

In the same order in which the words stand here, they are placed in the explications above-mentioned, some small aberrations excepted.

Γαυζας, is in my opinion Gothic, and translated into Latin in the next word βονας. *Gods*, or *Goda*, in the Gothic language, is the German word *Gut*, and the English *Good*. In certain dialects of this tongue the *o* is pronounced as *au* in German * (or *ou* in English); and therefore sounds like *Gauls*. This could not be written otherwise by a Greek, than *Gauzas* with a *z*; and consequently it is properly translated by *bonas* or *bona*.

Βρηη, is also written βρη. The *week*, in the Anglo-Saxon, is called *weoc*, or *wic*, which comes from the Gothic word *wik*, a

* The word *Waurd* itself is in English *word*, in German *wort*; farther, the Gothic word *Daur* is in English *door*, and in German *Thor*; and *Dauds*, signifying dead in the Gothic, in Dutch is *doed*, and in German *tot*.

series or order of things which return in constant rotation : βικη therefore is *wike*, or week. The Latin corresponding with this, has only *διας*, or probably *δις*; and, in my opinion, Z should be prefixed to this latter word; so that *wike* is translated by *septem dies*.

αγιαγαυδεις should be read thus, αιογοναυδεν τει or τειγ, and signifies *special good days*, εκλεκτη βονι δις. *Electi boni dies*.

ενπερτυς. In the Gothic language, as well as in the English and modern German, the syllable *un*, prefixed to a word, imparts to it a signification contrary to that which it otherwise bears: e. g. *unable*, *unfeeling* in our own language, and in the Gothic we have *unagein*, without fear; *unbairands*, unfruitful; *unbarnahs*, childless; *unbrukja*, useless; *ungalaubjands*, unbelieving, &c. and, in the present case, *unkauridas*, ενκορτας, *without trouble or sorrow, happily, in good time*. βονα ωρα, *bona hora*.—N. B. The αγια put here after ενπερτυς is not to be found in the first interpreter, and is probably redundant.

τηνυ βαντες should perhaps be ΓΟΔΑ ΒΑΝΣΤΑΝΣ, *Goda banstans*, or *banstins*, good crops, or barns; *bona barrea*, βονα ωρεια instead of βονα αμορε.

επισπυαντες. The Latin words immediately following this, viz. ιδε σαλβατους, which Professor Semmler very properly reads, *vide Salvatas*, must be used here for the purpose of ascertaining the Gothic; and though it requires a considerable change in the letters, we cannot read otherwise in the Gothic than *σαικ*, *see, vide*; as the Greeks could not express the Gothic *q*, or *qu*, otherwise than by their κ, and after *σαικ*, λαισιτες, or λαισιτες; which together make *σαικ λαισιτες*, *behold the saved*, βιδε: σαλβαντες.

νανα δεους. I explain this first by the subsequent Latin, which here, indeed, is *δευς σελα*, but should doubtless have been written *δευς σερβα*, *Deus serva*, *God save*, or *preserve*. Now this in the Gothic might be, *Fana Lauwei*, *Fana laufei*; as the copyist probably not well knowing what to make of the ancient digamma, took it for an N; and the Λ in *Λαυwei* is easily mistaken for a Δ. But *Fana laufei* signifies *Lord* or *God preserve*.

κιβα νανα. In the expression *δευμονογγυγυ* immediately following, Professor Semmler thinks he descries the word *Domino*, or rather as it appears to me, *Dominum*; and the phrase *κιβα νανα* is probably the Gothic *quiwaiz Fana*; which means the *Lord alive*. *δομινον υιουν* *Dominum vivum* (sc. *Deus serva*).

βελε γυβιλος. The Latin following this should be *γυβι ιλαρες*, *jubilares*; consequently the Gothic might possibly be written *βιλια γυβιλονς*, *wilja jubilons*, bidding them be merry; or, as the Italians would say, *giubilare*.

This specimen, I hope, will serve to convince many of my readers that the strange, uncouth words above cited, are to be considered as a collection of such Gothic and Latin acclamations as were at that time in use at the Byzantinian Court.

If we had time sufficient, and were any considerable advantage to be expected from it, I am apt to believe it would be possible likewise to restore and explain the few remaining words. In the mean time this fragment of the Gothic language shews clearly enough, that even in the tenth century, the Gothic words of this festival were not entirely consigned to oblivion, though at the same
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time the Goths in the Crimea were no longer much known. These people, however, have continued to exist even to these our days ; a circumstance which naturally excites in us an ardent wish that, under the protection and auspices of Catherine II. the learned may be enabled to search in the Crimea for the remnants of this celebrated nation and language.

B O O K III.

OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE IN THE NORTH IN
MODERN TIMES.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE state of improvement in which Europe was with respect to knowledge and general information, the extension of commerce, the liberty bestowed on bondsmen and slaves, the progress of industry in the towns and cities, the almost-independency of their internal government; the riches, power, and consequence which these towns in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, had acquired chiefly by commerce and navigation; the improvements made in the administration of justice, and the consequent decrease of the right claimed and exercised by every individual of avenging his own wrongs; the gradually encreasing power of the Kings and Princes, and their endeavours to annihilate the influence of the higher order of vassals, and of the Nobility, in matters of Government; the establishment of standing armies in France and Italy, and the necessity arising from thence to augment the revenues of the state by all possible means; all these circumstances had produced a great alteration in all the forms of Government in Europe. The thoughts of all the European Princes were entirely bent on their own aggrandizement, and that either by new conquests or by the augmentation of their power in their own states. Portugal had so early as in 1250 driven the Arabian Princes out of their native countries; and, in order to prevent the Mauritanian Arabs from entering into
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any confederacy with those that still remained in Spain, and thus causing fresh disturbances, the Portuguese went over to the coast of Mauritania, where now *Fez* and *Morocco* are, and there endeavoured to do as much injury as possible to the enemies (as they were called) of the Christian religion; and having conquered Ceuta in the year 1415, fortified several harbours situated in the vicinity of it on the shores of the great Western Ocean. A. D. 1418, *John Gonzalez Zarco*, and *Tristan Vaz*, after having weathered a violent storm, discovered an island which, on account of the asylum it so happily afforded them, they called *Porto Santo*. It was impossible to be in *Porto Santo* without seeing *Madeira*, in case the weather was fair; and, sailing to the island which had the appearance of a cloud, they called it, after the saint of the day on which it was discovered, *St. Lawrence*, and shortly after, on account of the great number of forests that were upon it, *Madeira*. To these forests they set fire in 1420, and cultivated sugar with great success on the spot. The Infant of Portugal, *Don Henry*, thirsting after still greater discoveries, and at the same time very well versed in geographical knowledge, as far as it extended in those times, sent out *Gonsalo Velho Cabral* for the purpose of making new discoveries to the westward. The first discovery he made in this voyage, which he undertook in 1431, was that of a few barren rocks, which from the continual motion of the sea by which they were surrounded, he took occasion to call *las Formigas* (the Ants) and soon after he descried the island of *St. Maria*, which in the year 1432, having had a grant of it from the Infant *Don Henry*, he peopled and stocked with cattle.

At this period it was that *Antonio Gonzalez* was sent out with two *caravels*, a kind of small ship, to the coast of *Africa*, on new discoveries. Hitherto it had been the practice to seize upon the tawny Moorish Mahometans that were caught wan-

dering

déring up and down in that quarter of the globe, and to sell them for slaves, as being enemies of the Christian faith; but in the year 1442 some of these prisoners were redeemed by their relations, who gave in exchange for them, not only other negroes who were of a quite black complexion, and had woolly hair, but also a certain quantity of gold dust. From this time forward, the desire of discovering the gold country, and that from whence the negroes came, encreased daily. In 1443, *Nunno Tristan* discovered *Cape Arguin*, or *Akaget*, and the Island of *Cranes* (*Ilha de Garzas*). The next year was seen the island of *St. Miguiel* (or *St. Michael*) one of the *Azores*. *Lanzerote* took a great number of prisoners on the coast of *Africa*, and *Cadamosto* made the discovery of the river *Gambra*. A. D. 1445, another of the *Azores*, or (Hawk-Islands) was discovered, which, from the circumstance of its being the third island discovered, was called *Terceira*. In the same year *Denys Fernandes* discovered a promontory covered with fresh verdure, thence called by him *Capo Verde*, and also the *Capo Verde Islands*, which lay over-against it. Between that period and the year 1449, the rest of the *Azores*, *St. George*, *Graciosa*, *Fayal*, and *Pico*, had also been discovered; for these four islands being partly seen from *Terceira* in fair weather, it was impossible for them to have remained much longer undiscovered. After the death of the Infant *Don Henry*, the island of *Fayal*, which was named so, not after the beech-trees which grew on it, but after a new species of myrica (*myrica Faya*) was made a present of by *Isabella*, Duchess of Burgundy, to *Jobst Von Hurter*, by the Portuguese called *José de Utra*, and *Hura*, a native of Nuremberg; King *Alphonso V.* having before made a present of this island to the above-mentioned Duchess, who was his sister. *Hurter*, who had become connected, by marriage, with the illustrious Portuguese family de *Macedo*, went, in 1466, with a colony of more

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than 2000 Flemings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The Dukes, though at a time when the nation was afflicted both with a burdensome war, and a great dearth, had provided the Flemish emigrants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony very soon increased there. In the year 1472 some attempts were made likewise to people the *Capo Verde* islands; and the year before the islands of *San Tomasso*, *Ilha do Principe*, and *Anbo-bon*, had been discovered, together with the coast of *Guinea*, and particularly the *Gold Coast*. *Guinea*, on *Martin Behaim's* globes, was also denominated *Genea*; and, according to *Leo Africanus* *, it was called by the Arabians *Gbeneoa*, and by the negroes, *Genni*. The situation of this golden country was kept secret by the Portuguese with as much care as that of the tin-country had formerly been by the Carthaginians; notwithstanding which, the French, contrary to all probability, pretend to have been so early as in 1346, or at least in 1364, from *Dieppe*, along the western coast of Africa, quite to *Della Mina*, on the coast of *Guinea*. The great profits accruing to Portugal from the bees-wax, ivory, ostrich feathers, negro slaves, and particularly from the gold of this country, determined King John II. to send, in 1481, twelve ships to this coast, under the command of *Don Diego d'Azembuya*, and to build a fort there for the protection of commerce, which fort was called *St. George della Mina*. A. D. 1483, *Diego Cam*, or *Jacob de Cano*, and *Martin Behaim*, from Nuremberg, set sail with two *caravels* for the purpose of making new discoveries. (This *Martin Behaim* married afterwards at Fayal, about the year 1486, *Johanna de Macedo*, daughter of the Chevalier *Johst von Hurter*, and in 1479 had a son by her named Martin). First, they found the country of *Benin*, where there grows a kind of spice, which was pretended to be pepper, and which was transported in great quantities to Eu-

* *Leo Afric.* p. 369: Ed. Elzevir, 166.

rope. This spice, however, it must be observed, was no other than the grains of Paradise (*annonum grana Paradisi*). They are also called *Graines de maniguette*, or *malaguette*. After this, in 1484, they lighted on the coast of Congo. The Portuguese continued exploring the whole of this coast with great diligence and attention. *Bartholomeo Diaz*, with three ships, sailed farther to the southward than any of his predecessors, and at length got so far that, in 1486, he descried the southernmost promontory of Africa, which, on account of the violent storms that prevailed there, he called *Cabo de todos los Tormentos*; but which the King of Portugal, who was now in hopes of soon making a much greater discovery, viz. of finding a new route to India, called *Cabo de bona Esperanza*. The renown and advantages which the Portuguese had acquired by the above-mentioned voyages induced many persons, well versed in mathematics and navigation, to endeavour to participate in these discoveries. Germans, in particular, Netherlanders, and Italians, were intent on acquiring by this means skill, fame, and opulence. A *Jacob van Brugge*, and a *Wilhelm van Dagora*, which latter assumed the name of *Silveira*, both Netherlanders, peopled some of the Azores islands. *Jobst von Hurter*, and *Martin Behaim*, both natives of Nuremberg, were Lords of *Fayal* and *Pico*. *Antonio de Nolle*, an Italian, discovered *St. Jago*, one of the Capo Verde islands, of which he also afterwards was Governor; and, in like manner, *Jean Baptiste*, a Frenchman, became proprietor of *Mayo*, another of these islands. *Bethencourt*, a French gentleman, was the first who took possession of the Canary Isles; and foreigners of all nations, conspicuous for their rank in life, knowledge, and enterprising spirit, mixed with the Portuguese adventurers in every undertaking. Now, although the Portuguese did not permit other nations to take possession of the lands they had discovered by their unwearied zeal, at a vast expence, and by undergoing so many dangers, yet they were in no ways averse to allow such foreigners as chose to enter into their service, and to incorporate with

them by marrying into Portuguese families, to share with the them profits of their extensive discoveries.

All the ships which the immortal Don Henry sent on these voyages were in part provided with good pilots, who understood Geography, Astronomy, and Navigation, to the full extent of that degree of perfection to which these sciences had been brought at that time. He had also taken care to have all the young nobility in his service instructed at *Ternaubel*, near *Sagre*, in *Algarva*, in geography, navigation, and in the art of laying down charts and maps, by a very skilful mathematician of *Maljorca*, for whom he had sent for this purpose. In consequence of this, all the discoveries were laid down on maps; and accordingly we find, that when *Pedro de Covillam*, and *Alonso de Payva*, set out for the purpose of making new discoveries, A. D. 1487, they took with them a map of the globe which had been drawn by *Calsadilla*, Bishop of *Viseu*, an extraordinarily skilful mathematician. John II. King of Portugal, ordered his two body-physicians, *Roderic* and *Joseph*, together with *Martin Behaim*, who were all three excellent mathematicians for those times, to invent something by which the course of a ship, and the particular place she is in at sea, might be determined with greater certainty than before. In compliance with this charge they made improvements in the astrolabe, which till that time had been used only with a view to astronomy, so that it could be likewise used for the purpose of navigation. It is also a well-known fact, that when Martin Behaim went to Nuremberg in 1492, in order to visit his relations, he made a globe, upon which he laid down all the regions and countries known at that period: from this globe we learn, amongst other things, that he was of opinion that, in sailing farther to the westward, one might at length come to *Katbay*, or North China, and to *Cipangu*, or Japan; hence, too, we find drawn upon this globe
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the *Greater* and *Lesser Java*, and the islands of *Kandyn* and *Angama*, described by Marco Polo. Now, agreeably to this opinion, which was farther confirmed by the circumstance of exotic fruits having been often cast on shore at the Azores by the currents and western winds, even a boat with the corpses of people of a strange and unknown country having been once brought thither by them, it seemed more than barely probable that there must be an inhabited country to the westward, which, however, was all along supposed to be India. A Genoese, *Christopho Colom* by name, who, to a considerable share of mathematical and cosmographical knowledge, joined great skill in navigation, had been a long time in Portugal, and had married *Philippina Mniz Perefstrella*, the daughter of *Bartholomeo Perefstrello*, who had been one of the first that contributed to settle *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. It was impossible for him to have been ignorant of the important discoveries which the Portuguese had made with such envied success. He must also necessarily have been acquainted with the prevailing notion of those times, viz. that in sailing to the westward a ship must inevitably at length arrive at the Indies. He therefore requested King John II. of Portugal, to let him have some ships to carry him to the island of *Cipangu* (or Japan) of which there was some account in the writings of Marco Polo. The King referred him to *Diego Ortiz*, Bishop of *Ceuta*, and to his two Physicians *Roderic* and *Joseph*, all of whom looked upon the opinion commonly entertained concerning the situation of Marco Polo's Island of *Cipangu*, to be visionary, and consequently, seeing but little plausibility in Colom's plan, absolutely rejected his petition. Colom, who was a man of a determined disposition, and not easy to be shaken in his resolves by such refusals as these, quitting Portugal, where they did not chuse to accept his proposals, went himself, in 1484, to Spain, and sent his brother *Bartholomeo* to England, in order to make the same proposals to King Henry VII. During the space of seven years *Christopher*

Colom

Colom solicited the Court of Spain for assistance in the execution of his great plan, and met with nothing but tedious delays. His brother had in the mean time been plundered by pirates, and was detained in prison. In 1488 he made King Henry a present of a map of the world, drawn up by himself. Henry VII. a Prince of unbounded avarice, and by no means fit for great enterprizes, suffered *Bartholomeo* to depart the kingdom without doing any thing for him, when this latter immediately went to Charles VIII. at Paris, who gave him the first intelligence of his brother *Christopher's* important discovery.

In the mean time, *Christopher Colom*, wearied out with fruitless attendance and deluded expectations, was just on the point of leaving Spain. He staid, however, to make one more trial, and not receiving expeditiously enough the wished-for answer, set sail in order to go to his brother in England. In consequence of the conquest lately made of Grenada, and of the earnest solicitations of two of her courtiers, men of enlarged views and unprejudiced minds, Queen Isabella was at length determined to grant a supply of the scanty sum of 40,000 guilders for the service of this expedition. A boat was now sent after *Colom*; accordingly he went ashore again, and an agreement was concluded with him in due form. *Colom* set sail from *Palos*, in Spain, on the 3d of August, A. D. 1492, and the next spring, on the 15th of March, returned to *Palos*, with important news of some islands having been discovered by him. Gold, cotton, and Pimento pepper, together with a great number of parrots of variegated plumage, and some rare and uncommon animals; as also several inhabitants of the island *Haiti* (or St. Domingo) which he brought with him, exhibited incontrovertible proofs of his discovery. The attention of all Europe was now turned to this great event. There were many who were likewise desirous of sharing in the honours of having discovered new countries; among these was *Amerigo Vespucci*, who had seen the main land of the new-found countries, if not before, at least soon after *Christopher Colom*,
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and, by some singular effect of chance, the whole of this extensive quarter of the globe has been called, after him, *America*. Finally, about the same time, viz. in the year 1496, *Vasco Gama*, sailing round the Cape *de todos los Tormientos* (or rather *de bona Esperanza*) arrived safe in the East-Indies. Now there arose an emulation between the Castilians and the Portuguese, of extending their discoveries continually farther and farther, and of rendering them still more profitable and important. A. D. 1500, *Pedro Alvarez Cabral* sailed for the Indies, and descried by chance a large coast which he called the Land of the *Holy Cross*, and which at present, after the name of a certain wood which dyes red (a name previously to this period known to the Arabians)* is called *Brasil*.

For a long time after this it was not known that the extensive continent newly discovered was any other than the Indies. It was in process of time, however, found out that a coast, extending as this did, many hundreds of miles to the northward and to the southward, could not possibly be that of the Indies; and *Vasco Nunnez de Balbao* having, at length, viz. A. D. 1513, descried the ocean again beyond the isthmus of *Panama*, there was no farther doubt about the matter. Portugal in the mean time derived immense treasures from the Indies, and Spain seemed to have enriched herself no less. All Europe must necessarily have contemplated this accession of wealth and power with astonishment and dissatisfaction. Spain, the Netherlands, a great part of Italy, and in Germany the Austrian hereditary dominions, were now all united in the person of the Emperor *Charles V.* and the treasures of the West-Indies encouraged and enabled him to usurp in Germany still more power than he had had before over the Princes of that empire. *Francis I.* of France, who ventured to measure forces with him, was defeated and taken prisoner near Pavia. The armies he made use of for the execution of his ambitious designs, were chiefly composed of Spaniards, a nation which

* Abulfeda Tab. XVI. exhibens Insulas maris Orientalis. *Lamari* est matrix ligni *Brasilii* & cannae Indicae.

by so many bold-exploits, and by being in constant action, was endued with an uncommon degree of valour, and inured to hardships and fatigue. These military operations which took place in Italy, in the Netherlands, and in almost every part of Germany, served but the sooner to diffuse the treasures of both the Indies over all those countries; and both war and wealth not only introduced a great mixture of the manners, together with the refinements in luxury of foreign nations, but likewise gave rise to similar attempts in all the Princes of Europe to oppose the encreasing power and oppressions of the Pope and of the Emperor, by the improvement of their finances, by standing armies, and by the undaunted spirit which these circumstances were calculated to inspire. The different nations of Europe began now to visit each other more than ever; and their respective Sovereigns courted the friendship even of Princes at a distance, with a view to acquire additional strength by means of treaties, and to be the better enabled to execute the plans they had formed either of aggrandizement or defence. Men of talents and genius now began to feel their own powers; the sacred fire of freedom was now lighted up in every generous breast, and displayed itself as well in thought as in action; in short, Europe was quite transformed. The two Indies, the sources of such material alterations in the constitution of Europe, became the objects of the wishes of all the European Princes, as well as of every private man who, to a competent degree of skill in navigation, cosmography, and astronomy, joining an undaunted and resolute spirit, fancied himself equal to the execution of great enterprizes. It could not therefore well be otherwise, but that in every commercial and maritime nation people should be found who offered themselves to go to the Indies by some new route.

Since the discovery of the navigation to the two Indies, almost all maritime nations have made attempts either to go to the Indies by new
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tracks, or else merely with a general view to discover new countries. The limits we have prescribed to ourselves in this work, confine us solely to the discoveries made in the North; notwithstanding which, we found it necessary to connect the thread of our narration by the above introduction; and shall only observe, in addition to what we have just stated, that the attempts made to arrive at the Indies by a new and shorter route, have given rise to many voyages in the North. But many of these voyages of discovery have also originated in other causes, which we shall take occasion gradually to unfold one after the other.

It will be necessary, however, for the sake of order, in treating of these discoveries, to arrange them under the heads of the different nations which have participated in them; we shall therefore here give a brief account of the Discoveries made by the English, Dutch, French, Danes, Russians, Spaniards, and Portuguese; and conclude the whole with some general physical, zoological, botanical, mineralogical, and anthropological Observations, and with a few words concerning the probability there is of getting through the Northern Seas into the great Pacific Ocean.

Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo. ——— VIRGIL.

C H A P. I.

Of the Discoveries made by the English in the North.

ENGLAND, in the reign of Henry VII. after the loss of all the countries which the Kings of England had possessed in France, and the long civil war that subsisted between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was still in a very weak state. The timorous, mistrustful, and æco-

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nomical disposition of Henry, contributed in a special manner to the preservation of tranquillity at home and peace abroad. In consequence of this, commerce and manufactures increased greatly, and London contained merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians in particular were remarkably numerous, so that even a street in London was named after the former of these people. The Easterlings from the Hanse-towns likewise did a great deal of business there. The discovery of the West-Indies by *Christopher Colom* in 1492, made a great rumour, and first created a wish for a voyage, by which similar discoveries might be made.

I. At that time there lived in London a Venetian, by name *John Cabota*, or *Cabot*, who had three sons with him, *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sanchez*. *Sebastian* was but young, but had nevertheless made great progress in the Belles Lettres, and especially in the doctrine of the sphere, that is to say, in every science subservient to the mathematical knowledge of the earth and to navigation. *Sebastian*, hearing of the success of *Colom*, was inspired with a desire of likewise acquiring renown by similar enterprises; and King Henry VII. in 1495, or 1496, impowered the father and his three sons to sail, under the royal flag, with five ships to the Eastern, Western, and Northern Seas, and there find out such countries and islands belonging to the Heathen, as had not before been discovered by any Christian power. In the 13th year of this King's reign, *John Cabot* obtained permission to sail with six ships, of 200 tuns burthen and under, on new discoveries. He did not sail, however, till the beginning of May, 1497, and then, by his own account, had but two ships fitted out and stocked with provisions at the King's expence; but the merchants of Bristol sent with him three or four small vessels laden with coarse cloth, caps, and other trifling wares. He sailed for some time without seeing any land at all. His crew was beginning to murmur, when at length, for fear of a mutiny, he steered more to the south-west, and, after some time longer sailing, on the

24th of June, descried some land, to which, alluding to this circumstance, he gave the name of *Prima Vista*, and which the English, making use of a word of similar import, called *Newfoundland*. Other authors remark, that he met with many large mountains of ice, that he found the days lengthened, and the countries he visited free from frost. Some say he went to 67 deg. 30 min. N. lat. ; others reckon his most northerly track to have been to 58 deg. N. lat. He himself informs us, that he reached only to 56 deg. N. lat. and that the coast in that part trended to the east. This seems hardly probable, for the coast of *Labrador* trends neither at 56 deg. nor at 58 to the east, and at 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ deg. is the coast of *Greenland*. I should therefore suppose that *Sebastian Cabot* had the first sight of *Newfoundland*, off *Cape Bona Vista*. *Peter Martyr's* account says, that Cabot called the new-discovered land also *Baccalaos*, from the circumstance of his having found there an immense quantity of large fishes, which the inhabitants called *Baccalaos*. This word *Baccalaos* is by the inhabitants pronounced with the Spanish double *ll*, *Baccaljaos*, whence the Germans and Dutch have taken their term of *Kabbéljau*, bearing the same signification. This inclines me to suppose, that *Prima Vista*, the first land discovered by Cabot, was the headland in *Newfoundland*, which is still called *Cape Bonavista*, and this conjecture is still farther confirmed by the situation of the island of *Baccalao*, which lies not far from thence. The inhabitants that *Cabot* met with here were dressed in the skins of animals ; he likewise saw several stags and white bears, which used to catch the *Baccalaos* fish in the sea. He also found at this place black hawks, with partridges and eagles of the same colour ; and remarks, that the inhabitants there had a great quantity of copper.

Having refreshed himself and his crew here, he sailed to the south-westward, till he was nearly in the same latitude as the Straits of *Gibraltar*, and in the same longitude as the Island of *Cuba*. According to this remark of *Peter Martyr*, *Sebastian Cabot* must have been about as far as *Chesapeake Bay* in *Virginia*. He was now obliged,

through want of provisions, to set out on his return, when he took along with him three inhabitants of Baccalao, or Newfoundland. But great preparations being made at that time for a war with Scotland, it did not appear at all probable to him that any use would be made of his discovery; he therefore went into the service of Spain, where he was made *Pilote Mayor*, and explored the coast of Brasil, and the river Plata; after which he undertook some other voyages in the service of Spain. In a writ of King Edward VI. issued out in 1549, one *Sebastian Cabot* was also promoted to be Grand Pilot of England, with a salary of 166l. 13s. 4d. per ann. sterling; but if it be the same person, he must at that time have been very old.

II. We do not find, that since this, during the reign of Henry VII. and in that of Henry VIII. any great enterprizes and voyages to the North were undertaken. The avaricious disposition of the former prevented him from any new undertakings after the first expedition of Sebastian Cabot, who, in fact, although he had discovered a great extent of land, reaching from the 56th to the 36th degree of northern latitude, had brought home no treasures in gold and silver, which alone were coveted in those days; neither was the turbulent, voluptuous, proud, and cruel disposition of Henry VIII. any great encouragement to men of abilities and enterprize to undertake voyages of discovery, and thereby expose themselves to the King's fickle and tyrannical temper in case of miscarriage, as such expeditions depend merely on wind and weather, and may easily turn out unfortunately. After his decease, came, in 1548, a *Sebastian Cabot*, who was not only appointed *Grand Pilot* of England, but was allowed besides, a salary for life of 166l. 13s. 4d. *in consideration of the good and acceptable service done and to be done by him.* This expression seems to indicate, that this *Sebastian Cabot* was the same person as so long ago as in

1497, had, with his father, *John Cabot*, made the discovery of North-America, Newfoundland, and Terra di Laborador. By his own account he was very young at that time: let us therefore suppose him to have been 22-years old in 1497; consequently he was born A. D. 1475, and of course in 1548 was 73 years of age. Now, if *Sebastian Cabot*, or *Gavota*, had been a young man, and different from the first discoverer (as *Pere Bergeron* supposes in his *Traité des Navigations*, chap. x.) he would have gone himself upon the voyage we are about to mention: but even his rank as Governor of the Society of Merchants associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown lands, dominions, islands, and other places, shews that he must have been at this time a man of great experience, and in a very respectable situation. It is therefore probable, that either from discontent, or some other cause, this *Sebastian Cabot* had quitted the Court of the Emperor Charles V. in Spain, and returned to England. In the representations he made on this subject, he endeavoured to prove, that it was possible to find a way by the north-east to Kathay and India, in case any one undertook the voyage.

A Company of Merchants formed an association, at the head of which he was placed. This Society, in the year 1553, sent out three ships under the command of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Knt. for the purpose of making discoveries. In the month of June they got as far as *Halgoland*, the birth-place of *Obther*: going farther on, they arrived at *Rost*, where *Quirini* had wintered, and proceeding farther still, at *Lafot* and *Seynam* (Senju). Directly after this, the *Edward Bonaventura*, commanded by Capt. *Richard Chancellor*, was separated from the Admiral's ship by a storm. The Admiral soon after descried land, but could not land on it, on account of the ice and the shallowness

ness of the water. He supposed it to be 160 leagues distant from Seynam, in the direction of east by north, and in 72 degrees north lat. Consequently it must have lain to the east of *Kola*. Perhaps this land was the coast of *Nova Zembla*, or the island of *Kolgow*. Sailing now again to the west, he came at length to a river and harbour, where he determined to winter. But, not having a sufficient quantity of wood for fuel, and being perhaps attacked by the scurvy, they all perished; though it appeared by the papers they left behind them, that they were still alive in the month of January 1554. The account says, that the river or harbour, in which Sir Hugh Willoughby anchored, was called *Arzina*. A river of this name is found in Russian Lapland, between *Kola* and the cape which the Russians call *Swjætoi-Nofs*. For, that *Willoughby* saw Spitzbergen, is not at all probable; though *Wood* asserts that he did; the most southern part of *Spitzbergen* being at least in 77 deg. N. lat. and consequently four or five degrees more to the north than *Willoughby's* Land.

As soon as *Willoughby* had got sight of this land, the *Bona Confidentia*, Capt. *Durforth*, was separated in another storm, and returned to England. The *Edward Bonaventure*, under the command of *Richard Chancellor*, arrived at the harbour of St. *Nicholas*, at the mouth of the *Dawina*, and Chancellor went to *Moscow* to the Czar *Ivan Wassielewitsch*. The Grand Dukes had till then been obliged to suffer very much under the yoke of the Tartars. But now they had entirely shaken it off, and Russia was no longer divided and parcelled out, as it had been before, amongst a number of petty Princes, but had now one sole Sovereign, the Grand Duke, who consequently was a Prince of considerable power. This country bordering upon no other Christian countries but Poland, Livonia, and Sweden, and, on the contrary, having for neighbours to the south, the Turks, Tartars, Persians, and other savage nations, the
merchants

merchants of the Hanse-towns took great advantages over them in matters of commerce. It could not therefore but have been very agreeable to *Ivan Waffielewitsch* to see the English arrive in his dominions. Accordingly he made them the most ample offers, granted them great privileges, and treated them with much kindness and friendship. *Richard Chancellor* sold his cargo, and, taking in other commodities in lieu of those he had disposed of, returned in the year 1554, with a letter from the Czar *Ivan Waffielewitsch*, to England, where at that time King Edward VI. being dead, Queen *Mary*, his sister, sat on the throne.

III. The profits resulting from this first navigation to Russia, made the trading-company still more eager to turn this fortunate event and the friendly disposition of the Grand Duke *Ivan Waffielewitsch*, to the best advantage. Queen *Mary* and her consort, Philip, King of Spain, were therefore pleased to grant to the Company of Merchants Adventurers for Discoveries in the North, North-east, and North-west, a charter with many privileges, under their Governor Sebastian Cabot. Their Majesties wrote likewise a letter to the Grand Duke *Ivan Waffielewitsch*, and empowered *Richard Chancellor*, *George Killingworth*, and *Richard Gray*, to treat with the Grand Duke about the commercial privileges and immunities which he might be pleased to grant to this newly-chartered trading Company. The ships which set sail with these Plenipotentiaries, and with a fresh cargo of merchandize, were the *Edward Bonaventure* before-mentioned, and the *Philip* and *Mary*. They were very kindly received by *Ivan Waffielewitsch*, and having obtained from him a grant, with very extensive privileges, disposed very profitably of their cargo at *Kolmogori*, *Wologda*, *Moscow*, and *Great Nowgorod*. Thus the English Company was at once richly rewarded for their enterprize of finding out a short way to the Indies. They continued, however, to give commission to their mariners, to make diligent researches after the way to India and to *Kathey*.

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In the year 1556, the same two ships, under the command of *Richard Chancellor*, returned from the *Dwina* and the Bay of St. Nicholas, to England. In the mean time intelligence had been received concerning the two ships lost on the first voyage, and the *Bona Esperanza*, as well as the *Bona Confidentia*, set out also on their return home with rich cargoes. The Grand Duke, Ivan Wassielowitsch, had dispatched by these ships an Ambassador, with his retinue, to England. But of all these ships only one got back to England; all the others were lost. *Richard Chancellor* perished, and the Ambassador *Osep* (Joseph) *Nepea*, with the greatest difficulty saved his life on the coast of Scotland, where, however, he sustained a very considerable loss in clothes, articles of merchandize, and presents. As soon as this became known in England, the Ambassador was sent for to London, where he was received with great magnificence; the Company made him several rich presents, and sent him back to Russia in 1557, in their own ships. On his audience, he was very politely received by the King and Queen, and their Majesties gave him some presents to take over with him to the Grand Duke. Thus ships continued to go every year to Russia, where they carried on a very extensive and profitable trade, which Dantzick and the other Hanse-towns endeavoured to obstruct as much as possible.

IV. A. D. 1556, the Company sent out a pinnace under command of *Stephen Burrough*, or *Burrow*, who had been, with *Richard Chancellor*, in the capacity of Master, in his first voyage in the year 1553. This vessel, merely destined for discoveries, was named the *Searchtrift*. At their departure the Governor of the Company, *Sebastian Cabota*, paid them a visit, and is called, in the relation published of the voyages, *the good old Gentleman*. This seems to be a very evident proof that this *Sebastian Cabot* is the same with him who had discovered Newfoundland, and who, if at that time he was 22 years old, at this latter period must have been 81. *Burrough* went to the coast of Norway, saw *Lafot* and the *North Cape*, which latter he had named thus on his first

first voyage in the year 1553, and at length came to *Cola*. From thence he went, in company with some small Russian vessels, or lodjes, as far as *Kanyn-Nofs*, or *Kanda-Nofs*. Immediately after one is past the cape of this island, one finds the east, north-east, and north winds prevail more and more. After this he arrived at 30 leagues E. N. E. from thence, at the harbour of *Morschinwez* (*Morzowets*) in 68 deg. 20 min. N. lat. From thence he sailed 25 miles to the eastward, and at the distance of eight leagues in the N. by W. found the island of *Colgoive* (*Kolgow ostrow*). After this he came to *Swetinoz* (*Swjætoi Nofs*); from whence he soon arrived in the dangerous mouth of the *Petschora*. The whole land here consisted of low sandy hills. At length he reached *Nova Zembla* (*Newland*) and the islands of *Waigats**. But Burrough, finding it impossible to advance any farther on account of the north-easterly winds, and the great quantity of ice, and moreover the nights beginning already on the 22d of August to be very dark, determined to return, and to spend the winter in *Colmogori*; though the Russians said much to him in favour of the mouth of the river *Ob*, and concerning the great quantities of morfes, (or sea-horses), to be met with

* *Waygats*, according to the opinion of some learned men, takes its name from the Dutch *waaien*, i. e. *to blow, to be windy*, and *gat*, i. e. *a hole or a strait*, and is called *waaiyat*, because in these straits the wind blows with great violence. But as these straits were already called *Waigats* by Burrough, before the Dutch had seen them; and moreover, as the English had already heard the names of *Nova Zembla* and *Waigats*, from one *Leshak*, a native of Russia, this name must be rather of Russian than of Dutch origin. *Barentz* found afterwards on *Nova Zembla* some carved images on a head-land near the straits, in consequence of which he called it *Afgoeden-boek*, the *Cape of Idols*. Now, in the Sclavonian tongue, *Wajat* means to carve, to make an image. *Wajatt-Nofs* would therefore be the *Carved or Image Cape*; and this seems to me to be the true origin of the word *Waigats*, which properly should be called *Waiatels-woi Proliw*, the *Image Straits*.

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there. In *Nova Zembla* they saw not a human being, but caught a great number of birds, and saw some white foxes and white bears. On the main land were the *Samojedes*, a heathen nation, who, living in the neighbourhood of the river *Petschora*, were even at that early period subject to Russia, and were tolerably peaceable and friendly; but those of this nation, who lived on the river *Ob*, were of a hostile, cruel, and ferocious disposition. Having wintered in Russia, he returned to England in the year 1557; and was afterwards made Comptroller of the King's navy.

V. The attempt to discover a north-east passage to India having miscarried, people began again to entertain the hopes of succeeding by a north-west passage. Accordingly, Queen Elizabeth sent *Martin Forbisher* out with three small ships in 1567. On the 11th of July he saw land in 61 deg. N. lat. which land he supposed to be the *Friesland* of *Zeno*; and here he found a great quantity of ice. On the 28th of the same month he saw land again, which he took for the coast of *Labrador*. On the 1st of August land again appeared, and a large island of ice, which the next day fell to pieces with a dreadful noise. On the 11th he was in a strait, though perhaps it was merely a sound. After he had made them some presents, the inhabitants came on board the ship, and the next day one of them went on board in the ship's boat, and was taken ashore again; but the five sailors who were with him, went to the natives, contrary to orders, and neither they, nor the boat, were ever seen again. Upon this, they seized on a native and took him along with them; but he died soon after his arrival in England. Amongst other things which they carried home with them was a black, shining, and very heavy stone, which was gold-marcasite, (*Pyrites aureus*) as it contained a considerable quantity of gold.

VI. The gold found in this stone encouraged the members of the Society to send the next year (1577) three other ships. *Martin Fro-*
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Byler was again Commander in Chief. When he had got to the distance of six days sail from the Orkneys, he met with a great quantity of drift-wood, which was continually driven forwards with a current setting from the S. W. to the N. E. After 26 days sailing in a west and north-west direction, he went from the Orkneys to the country which was by them taken for Friesland. Soon after, he came to *Frobisher's Strait*, where, even so late as the 4th of July, all was still covered with snow and ice. Nevertheless he could not persuade himself that the cold was so intense as to freeze the sea-water, and so much the less, as the difference between the tides of ebb and flood was above ten fathoms; indeed, *Frobisher* found ice at the distance of upwards of 1000 miles from any land whatever, and this ice consisted of fresh, and not of salt water. At the same time it is inconceivable how this ice should break off from the entire mass, the air being so sharp here, and the rays of the sun falling so obliquely, as never to be elevated, even when it is at the highest, more than 23 degrees 30 min. above the horizon. It must therefore have been either very rapid streams and torrents of fresh water, or else a high flood, which can have had force sufficient to detach these enormous masses of ice, and carry them into the sea. *Frobisher*, not daring to approach nearer with his ships on account of the ice, went on shore with boats, and having examined every thing, and also seized on a native of the country, he returned again on board, and brought word, that in the bowels of the bare and barren mountains, probably great riches were hidden. He landed on several other spots, and at every place attempted to lay hold on some of the natives; but they sometimes defending themselves bravely with their bows and arrows, some of which were armed with *iron* points, but most of them with sharp stones or bones, the English fired, too, on their part, and wounded some of them, who

then, in order to avoid being taken, leaped into the sea and drowned themselves, an action which appeared very extraordinary to the English, who intended to cure their wounds, and carry them over to England. The Greenlanders used every art possible to be practised in order to entice the English to land, inasmuch that one of them feigned himself lame, and got another to carry him; however, they could not lay hold on the English: these latter, on the contrary, frightened the Greenlanders away by firing off their blunderbusses, when the pretended cripple ran away with the rest very swiftly, and without limping in the least. The English examined their huts (made of the skins of reindeer and the hides of other animals) and found some of the clothes of the five Englishmen who had been missing the year before. They found also some other miserable habitations of the natives, made of stones heaped up together. After this follows a description of their boats for one man, as also of those for the women, their darts, clothes, and furniture. Of two women whom they found there, they took one along with them, together with her wounded child; the other was left on the spot, on account of her extreme ugliness. The sailors, moreover, suspected this woman to have a cloven foot; but her buskins being taken off her legs, her feet were found to be exactly like those of other human beings. They then took some more of the glittering stones along with them, and set sail again for England. During the voyage the Greenland captives, both man and woman, behaved with great decorum, and exhibited a degree of chastity and modesty which was not expected from them. The Admiral's ship was separated from the two smaller ones in a storm, both of which, however, got safe, the one into Bristol, and the other into Scotland, as did the Admiral's ship in *Milford Haven*.

The

The remark of the author of Frobiſher's voyage, on the current which carried the great quantity of drift-wood they met with, in a direction from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt, has ſince been frequently confirmed. For it is by this current that ſo many Weſt-Indian woods and fruits are caſt on ſhore in Ireland, Scotland, the Faro Iſlands, the Weſtern Iſlands, the Orkneys, the Shetland Iſlands, Iceland, and Norway*: and it is probable that the black and red beans or peaſe, which were afterwards, in the third voyage, found in the huts of the Greenlanders, and which, it is to be preſumed, came from the *abrus precatorius*, but were ſuppoſed to be fruits from Guinea, had been brought by the ſame current. In the ſame manner the Icelanders are furniſhed with wood for firing, and receive other great advantages, by means of this current; and other ſeaſaring people have, in Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, as alſo in Greenland, and even on the northern and eaſtern coaſts of Siberia, every where found great quantities of this drift-wood, which was of great uſe to them in building their dwellings, as alſo for fire-wood.

That this part of Greenland diſcovered by Frobiſher, which is ſituated more to the ſouthward than any part of Iceland, or than Drontheim, in Norway, is nevertheleſs far colder and more ſurrounded with ice than theſe latter places, ſeems chiefly to proceed from the following circumſtance, viz. that the country of Greenland ſtretches very far to the northwards, and is full of inlets, running deep into the country, and ſounds, where, in hard winters, maſſes of ice of an aſtoniſhing ſize are generated by the mountains of ſnow which are blown down from off the high rocks, and in the ſpring, in conſequence of the thaws, of heavy rains, and of the ſea-water daſhing upon them, are converted into ice. Theſe mountains of ice are torn off by the tides and torrents of rain-water, and at length carried out to

* Works of the Society at Drontheim, Vol. III. page 13, 28.

sea. But frequently they are so numerous, that in the straits between Iceland and Greenland they are pressed together by storms, and without previously melting, freeze into one mass so as to form large fields of ice; particularly if they happen to be formed on sand-banks or shallows, and cannot go any farther; for they extend to such an astonishing depth in the water, that hardly one fifteenth part of them is above the surface of it, and sometimes many thousand feet of such a mass are under water. Now, as by these enormous mountains and fields of ice, large tracts of the ocean are entirely covered with ice, and consequently no vapours from the sea, which are usually mild and damp, can reach the land in Greenland, or at least but in very small quantities, the cold must be thereby prodigiously augmented, when in addition to this, the north winds, already of themselves sufficiently cold, blow over these immense fields of ice, and in their course are continually cooled more and more, till at last they are rendered so cold as to be absolutely insupportable.

Here again we meet with an instance of that cruelty which has ever marked the discoveries of the Europeans. It was concluded to make captures of these poor people at all events, and pretended that it was designed for their good. It is not surprising that the innocent inhabitants could not form any favourable conception of the benevolent views of their conquerors, who brought devastation into their country, and destruction upon their families, or that they should resist their unprovoked attacks; but the Europeans generously imagined that to cure them of the wounds they had inflicted, after having deprived them of their liberty, and perhaps their limbs, was an ample reward. Despair, however, at last inspired these injured people with resolution, and taught them to prefer death to the more lasting affliction of captivity, and to the lingering pains of their wounds. By this event again some families were deprived of those who protected and maintained them, and were exposed to the danger of starving in this rough and miserable country. Now, supposing the Europeans had the laudable intention
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of doing them service, and of instructing them in the Christian religion, yet surely these violent proceedings were not the most likely methods of effecting their purpose, nor could the religion of Christ have any great attractions for a people groaning under the oppression of its teachers; and who could not but perceive their violation of its most fundamental precept, that of philanthropy. But besides what the professors of Christianity were far more intent upon was, to procure intelligence whereabouts in that country gold was to be found, which at that time was coveted by all the Europeans, a circumstance, which proves to a demonstration that their zeal for the conversion of souls was all pretence, and that avarice and a thirst after wealth were the real motives of all the voyages which were then undertaken, whilst the cruelty and rapaciousness by which they were distinguished, have stamped them with indelible disgrace, and only served to depopulate still more regions already too thinly peopled. The modesty and decorum, too, of the two Greenlanders, were the subjects of much astonishment, as if chastity and virtue were the sole property and exclusive privilege of the Europeans and nominal Christians; whereas they are too often found in greater purity amongst unenlightened nations; and finally, what are we to think of Christians that could mistake an ill-favoured old woman for the Devil incarnate, and were not to be convinced to the contrary till they found that she had not a cloven foot? Men who are still under the influence of superstition like this, are but ill qualified to become leaders of the blind; men who can treat with so much inhumanity a people, whom, in spite of prejudice, they are compelled to acknowledge are possessed of great and solid virtues; surely such men are totally unfit to propagate a gospel which only breathes the gentle spirit of Charity and Peace.

All the descriptions given of the dress, the implements, the manners, and the language of these Greenlanders, evince that the modern Greenlanders have hardly at all deviated from their ancestors in any one of these particulars.

That at so early a period arrows with iron points, and iron knives, were found amongst these Greenlanders, shews, in my opinion, that they are very careful to hoard up the iron which have been brought to that part of the world by shipwreck and other accidental occurrences. It seems also probable to me, that they may have preserved from generation to generation part of the iron which their ancestors had acquired at the destruction of the Norwegian colony. It is true, that upwards of 900 years had elapsed since this memorable event; yet this piece of œconomy is by no means unlikely; for in 1773, I bought in the island of *New Amsterdam*, a small nail that had been left there in 1643, and consequently 130 years before, by *Abel Jansen Tasman*.

VII. Queen Elizabeth was extremely well satisfied with the discoveries of *Martin Frobisher*; and the report he made, as well as the probability of reaching *Katbai* (China) having been examined into, the profits also likely to accrue from the gold ore which he had brought home, having been duly weighed and considered, it was resolved, that in the new-discovered country, on which her Majesty bestowed the name of *Meta Incognita* (the unknown Goal) a fort should be built, and that for the defence of it, 100 men, together with three ships under the command of the Captains *Fenton*, *Best*, and *Filpot*, should be left there. The 100 men were to consist of 40 seamen, 30 pioneers, and 30 soldiers; amongst which were also bakers, goldrefiners, carpenters, and other such necessary persons. Fifteen small vessels were fitted out for this enterprize, and the command of them was given to Admiral Martin Frobisher.

They set sail from *Harwich* on the 31st of May, A. D. 1578. When they were past Ireland, they again met with a strong current setting from S. W.

to N. E. On the 20th of June, they discovered West Friesland, which they now called *West England*. Having landed there, and taken possession of it, they spied some huts or tents, from the form, construction, and furniture of which they concluded them to be perfectly similar to those they had found in *Meta incognita*. The inhabitants took to their heels; the huts were searched, and amongst other things a small box with little iron nails was found, as also some pickled herrings, and some well-cut deal boards; whence it was concluded that these people must either carry on some trade with other civilized nations, or else be very good artists themselves. Near these huts they also saw some dogs, two of which they took along with them, and in lieu of them left several presents, consisting of small bells, looking-glasses, and other toys. They saw whales in such shoals as it is usual to see porpoises. The ship *Salamander*, being under full sail with a fair wind, struck so hard against a whale, that the shock made the ship stand still. The whale made a terrible hideous noise, rose with his body and tail above the water, and immediately after plunged again into his element. Two days after this they found a large dead whale floating on the sea, which they supposed to be that which had been struck by the *Salamander*. They could not get into Frobisher's Straits on account of the ice, which the Admiral took to be a collection of ice formed from fresh water, it being in his opinion impossible for the sea to freeze, particularly as here the tides ebb and flow above ten fathoms; moreover he found ice at the distance of 100 miles from the land, which ice being melted, yielded fresh water without any salt in it. Probably the ice had been carried thither that year by the easterly and westerly winds, which were frequent there, and the large flakes of ice were continually changing their position, so that the ships often came into great danger. The bark *Dennis*, indeed was sunk by a shock she received from one of these large flakes of ice; but, having fired off a gun in time, all the crew was saved; the ship itself, however, was lost, with part of the

timber intended for the habitation of those who were to winter there. A storm from the south-east put the fleet into the most imminent danger; for they were so frequently beset and blocked up by the large flakes of ice, that they found it a very difficult matter to guard against the repeated shock and pressure of it; till at length a west north-west wind dispersed all this ice, and freed them from the most imminent danger. As they approached again towards the land, the appearance of it was so much changed by the snow and thick fogs, that they could not in the least distinguish whereabouts they were. A very strong current in a direction from north-east to south-west, carried the ships entirely out of their course. Frobisher was of opinion that the cause of this current was that the sea flowing constantly from the Bay of Mexico towards Ireland and Norway, and finding a resistance on those coasts, as also from a current coming round the North Cape from the Siberian Sea to meet it, is repelled with redoubled force to the northern coast of Greenland, and so takes its course along the coast from north-east to south-west.

The Admiral now sent the ship *Gabriel* into an inlet, and found that she could go through it into *Frobisher's Straits*, and round the *Queen's Foreland*, which was an island, again into those Straits, which he had before mistaken for *Frobisher's Straits*. He now explored the numerous islands in its vicinity, and withstood the murmurings of his crew with magnanimity and fortitude; and, after struggling a second time against the dangers of the ice in a fresh storm, arrived safe in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. Going on shore, he searched for minerals, and found that in the vallies of those parts the air is sometimes astonishingly hot, yet, the least wind blowing from over the ice will suddenly change all this heat into the most piercing cold. Three ships had been missing, which for a long while had kept out at sea in great danger, but at last came into a harbour, where the crew repaired the ships, and, by fitting the pieces together which they had with them ready for the purpose, built a pinnace, in which they went in quest
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of the Admiral, whom they accordingly found. Now likewise assays were made of the ore found by Captain Best, as also of that discovered by the Admiral, and all the ships were loaded with considerable quantities of both. At this time it was resolved not to leave any body here for this year, considering that the season was already so far advanced, and great part of the timber for the dwelling as well as the provisions for the 100 men, had been lost. It had been determined that they should set out on their voyage homewards on the last day of August; but a violent storm obliged them to set sail immediately. In the course of the whole voyage they lost but 40 men in all the fleet. The inhabitants were extremely shy. It was supposed that these people traded with other nations, as iron in bars was found amongst them, also iron heads for darts, needles with four-square points; and copper buttons for ornaments on the forehead, things they were by no means capable of making themselves. They used to kindle their fires by rubbing two sticks together. They drew their furniture over the ice with dogs; their kettles were made, with great art and ingenuity, of stone (*viz.* lapis ollaris). In the *Bear-Sound* they had built a house of lime and stone, as also an oven; and had left in the house toys of different kinds, and dolls for the natives. When the *Buffe Bridgewater* returned, she found a land to the south-east of *Friessland*, in 57 deg. 30 min. N. lat. along the coasts of which, that were covered with woods, and in some places with grass, they sailed for three days.

From the whole tenor of this voyage of Frobisher we learn his opinion concerning the origin of the ice, which is found in such abundance in the northern seas. First, we see, that though Sir *John Pringle*, in his discourse addressed to Captain *Cook*, bestowed such high encomiums on him for having made use of the ice swimming in the sea, for the purpose of providing the ships

under his command with fresh water ; yet nothing is more certain now, than that he was not the first who knew that the ice found in the sea being melted would produce fresh drinkable water ; for Frobisher had asserted this so early as the year 1578, and consequently 194 years before Cook made the experiment. In fact, he had *Hackluyt* on board his ship, in whose collection of voyages there is this very voyage of Frobisher's, and he used to read this book by way of amusement. Nay, in *Hackluyt's* work, immediately after this voyage of Frobisher, follows that of *John Davis*, performed in the year 1585, in which it is expressly mentioned that he had loaded a whole boat with ice, which yielded good fresh water. So true is it on one hand, that by the ignorance of men many things have been cried up as new and important discoveries, which nevertheless had been known and brought into use long before ; and on the other hand, that provided we can but find some man of consequence to found our praises, we may be certain of being extolled, even for such things as deserve no praise at all. Cook is a great man, who has merit sufficient of his own without the addition of this circumstance ; it would therefore be unjust to magnify him at the expence of other men of merit, who lived at an earlier period.

It is true that the mountains of ice consist of fresh water frozen ; but from this it does not follow, that all the ice in the sea has been generated from rain and snow. Mr. *Nairne* shewed, in 1776, that when Fahrenheit's thermometer is at $27\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, the fresh particles of the sea water will freeze, and leave nothing but strong brine behind. *Barentz* saw the sea at *Nova Zembla* suddenly frozen over, to the thickness of several inches ; it is therefore nothing new for seawater to freeze, and for this ice, nevertheless when melted, to produce

fresh potable water. Without doubt, it is possible that some ice mountains may be produced in the spring from the snow and torrents of fresh rain-water; but it does not follow from hence, that all the ice found in these seas have the same origin. More on this subject may be read in my *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*.

It is remarkable, that the shock of a ship under full sail should be so powerful as to kill so large an animal as a whale at one stroke. I remember in our voyage round the world, that one day several whales appearing about our vessel, while some of these unwieldy animals amused themselves with diving under the water on one side of her and coming up again on the other, the ship in her course grazed against the back of one of them, which, in pursuing these gambols, had probably not gone deep enough; for when it came up on the other side, the whole sea was immediately dyed red with its blood: though at the same time we had but a very moderate breeze; and the direction taken by the whale went right across the motion of the ship. Now had we been sailing before the wind with a stiff gale, and at the same time the whale had met us in a direct line, its death would have been unavoidable.

I have also mentioned in my *Observations*, that the sea between the Tropics by reason of its being constantly propelled by the easterly winds, in the Atlantic towards the continent of America, and in the Pacific Ocean towards China, New Holland, and the Molucca Islands, flows north and south along the coast of the American continent, and comes in the temperate Zone from south-west to north-east, in the northern hemisphere; and from north-west to south-east, in the southern Hemisphere. Consequently we find, that in the northern hemisphere a current sets in from the Bay of Mexico north-eastward towards Ireland and Norway; and from the coast of Brazil, in the southern hemisphere, another current drives the waters of the ocean past the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Sea. But, on the other hand, this current runs
northwards

northwards against Norway, and is repelled again from east to west on the western coast of Greenland in the northern Frigid Zone. In the southern hemisphere the current going from the Cape, breaks against New Holland, and then in the Frigid Zone goes again to the westward, which is the reason, that beyond Terra del Fuego, near Cape Horn; and in the Streights of *Le Maire*, we observed a strong current coming from the east, which we also took notice of even near *Staaten Land* and *Newyears Islands*. In the South Sea, too, there are similar currents, viz, between the Tropics from east to west, in the temperate Zones from west to east, and in the frigid Zones again, from east to west. These currents in the sea partly occasion also similar currents in the air; which is the reason that in the temperate Zones the western winds predominate in like manner as in the frigid Zones. The east winds occur more frequently than any other winds; so that Frobisher's remark is perfectly consistent with truth. For the frequent mention of an ore being found in Greenland, there must certainly have been some foundation. But what degree of skill the assayers possessed, which our navigators took out with them, it is not possible to determine, much less whether real gold ore was ever found in this country. It is possible, however, that there are iron as well as copper ores in Greenland, which perhaps contain considerable quantities of silver and gold. *Crantz*, in his *History of Greenland*, Book I. chap. 4. § 26, seems in some respect to confirm this supposition. Indeed the northern regions cannot be said to be entirely destitute of gold and silver, as the mines in *Aedelfjors* and *Kingberg* are known to every one, and as the Russians have found in Bear Island pieces of native silver, of a considerable size, and branched out into the most beautiful ramifications.

That the Greenlanders still make kettles for their own use of the lapis ollaris, is also ascertained by the above-mentioned *Crantz* in the place before referred to, § 25.

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It is very improbable that the Greenlanders should have carried on a trade with any civilized nation, and received from them iron bars, and copper buttons, for the ornaments of their foreheads. The iron and copper found amongst them had doubtless been hoarded up by them ever since the destruction of the Norwegian colony, or else they had been furnished with these metals by the ships wrecked near this coast, or, at the utmost, they may have got some native copper from the American savages dwelling in Hudson's Bay, either by barter, stratagem, or force; for even at present pieces of unwrought copper are found amongst these savages, which they have beaten with great difficulty into the form of bracelets. In other respects, the manners of these Greenlanders are perfectly conformable to those of the present natives.

If the *Buffe Bridgwater* really, and *bona fide*, found a land overgrown with woods and grass in 57 deg. 30 min. N. lat. it must have sunk afterwards into the sea, as it has never been seen again in the voyages repeatedly made since to Hudson's Bay, Greenland, and Labrador; or else these navigators must have been pretty much mistaken in their reckoning, and must have taken Iceland for quite a new country, and formed the woods in their own imagination.

VIII. Frobisher having effected nothing in three voyages made to the north-west, for the purpose of discovering a passage to Kathay and India, the Company of Russia Merchants were desirous of trying once more, whether it was possible to find out a way to these empires by the north-east; as the wealth which the Portuguese daily acquired by their voyages to India was very considerable, in consequence of which a new passage to Kathay (or China) and India, became the object of the wishes of all the maritime nations of Europe. They therefore dispatched two ships in the year 1580, by way of making a trial, under the command of *Arthur Pet* and *Charles Jackman*. Accordingly they sailed from *Harwich* on the 30th of May, and after some

some time reached the *North Cape* and *Wardhouse*; but the east, north-east, and south-east winds prevailed for a long time, and hindered them from pursuing their voyage: at length, having worked through great quantities of ice, and been often deceived by false appearances of land, on the 18th of July they arrived off *Waigatz*. They then sailed through the Straits, and soon met with a large quantity of solid ice; so that, after several fruitless attempts to get through it, they were obliged to return. It is remarkable, that in the sea extending between *Nova Zembla* and the continent, wherever they sounded, they soon came to ground; that is to say, they had from 4 to 33, 68, 70, and 95 fathoms. Not far from *Colgoyeve*, or *Kolgow*, they ran upon a sand-bank. They saw the land *Hugri* (or *Jugria* on the banks of the *Petschora*) and the Bay of *Morzowetz*. At length they made the *North Cape*, and on the 26th of November arrived safely at *Ratcliff*. The other ship, the *William*, commanded by *Charles Jackman*, having been separated from them in a very thick fog, was obliged to winter in a harbour in Norway; from whence she set sail in the month of February, in company with a Danish ship bound for Iceland; since which time there was never any farther intelligence to be obtained concerning her.

This attempt at a north-east passage, which, like the former ones, proved abortive, chiefly serves to corroborate two physical remarks mentioned above. The first is, that in these high northern latitudes we meet with frequent easterly, north-easterly, and south-easterly winds. The second regards the great shallowness of the water of the northern, or Icy-Sea, which has been noticed not only then, but also since, by more modern navigators. We find also in this voyage the usual complaints with respect to the enormous quantities of ice and the terribly dangerous fogs with which they were annoyed, and which everywhere occur, as well in the northern as in the southern hemisphere, in the cold regions near the Poles, and both of which greatly contribute to hinder any progress from being made in these dreadful seas.

IX. Though

IX. Though none of the former voyages to the North had turned out to any advantage, yet there were always others who endeavoured to make new discoveries, partly in hopes of actually finding countries abounding in gold, silver, and spices, and partly from a notion that in the pursuit of their discoveries, they might hit upon a new way to India. Queen *Elizabeth*, therefore, in 1578, made a grant to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, of all the lands which he should discover and take possession of; in consequence of which, he made preparations for his voyage. However, I cannot deny but that there are still some obscure accounts extant of voyages of discovery undertaken long before this. We find that so early as 1502, *Hugh Elliot* and *Thomas Ashbursht*, merchants of Bristol, obtained letters patent from *Henry VII.* for the establishment of colonies in the countries newly discovered by *Cabot*. But whether they ever made use of this permission, and set on foot any voyages thither, we find no traces to inform us, either in the writers who were their cotemporaries, or in those that immediately succeeded them. But likewise, in the reign of King *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1527, two ships, the one of which was called *Dominus vobiscum*, were by the advice of *Robert Thorne*, of Bristol, sent to make discoveries to the north-westward. The one of these vessels was lost in a dangerous gulph, between the northern parts of Newfoundland, and the country afterwards called, by Queen Elizabeth, *Meta Incognita*. The second ship, after the loss of the first, shaped its course towards *Cape Breton*, and the coast of *Arambec*. In their way thither these navigators often went on shore, and explored these unknown regions, and arrived again safe in England in the beginning of October. But the preceding very imperfect account is all that is known of this expedition. However, from hence it appears, that *Cape Briton*, which is here at so early a period called by this name, must have been named thus by *Sebastian Cabot*, when, in company with his father, he discovered *Newfoundland*, or *Baccallaos*, and afterwards sailed along the coast of America as far

as *Chesapeak Bay*. With regard to the coast of *Arambec*, I am free to confess, that as yet the situation of this coast is entirely unknown to me; though I rather suppose it to be the coast of what is now called *Nova Scotia*, or perhaps of even a more southerly region.

After this voyage we find it also mentioned, that a person of the name of *Hore*, set sail in 1536, from London, with two ships, the *Trinity* and the *Minion*, about the latter end of April. They arrived at *Cape Briton*, and from thence went to the north-eastward, till they came to *Penguin Island*, an island situated on the southern coast of *Newfoundland*, and which was named thus after a kind of sea-fowl, which the Spaniards and Portuguese called *Penguins*, on account of their being so very fat, and which used to build their nests and to live in astonishing quantities on this little rock. After this they went to *Newfoundland*. Here they saw some of the inhabitants, who came to look at their ship; but, being pursued, fled to an island, where a piece of roasted bear's flesh was found on a wooden spit. They also afterwards frequently used to shoot white and black bears themselves, and found the flesh of them very palatable. But at length their stock of provision decreased, so that they were necessitated to eat some fish which an osprey had carried to her nest for the purpose of feeding her young; and besides that, were obliged to feed upon herbs and roots of all kinds; nay more, when the scarcity of food increased, it was observed, that some of the sailors were missing one after another, who were at length discovered to have been killed and eaten in the woods by their own comrades. The Captain reproached his people very severely for this piece of cruelty; at length, however, they were again reduced to such extremities as to be ready to cast lots whose turn it should be to be devoured next; when the following day a French ship arrived there, of which they made themselves masters, and left theirs to the French, after having distributed to them a sufficient quantity of provisions. They arrived safe in England, where, soon after, a complaint was preferred against them by the French, for the forcible seizure made of their vessel;

vessel; but the King being informed of the dire necessity which had compelled them to commit this act of violence, indemnified the French out of his own purse, and did not punish this act of piracy as it would otherwise have richly deserved to have been punished.

It is pretty evident that these adventurers knew very little of the immense store of fish to be found on all the banks round about the island of Newfoundland, or else they would have made a better use of it for their maintenance. For there are many accounts extant which mention that, since the year 1504, the French from Normandy and Bretagne, and the Spaniards from Biscay, as also the Portuguese, used to carry on the cod fishery on these banks, with a great number of ships. This fishery must therefore have been carried on at least 32 years without the Englishmen having the least knowledge of it; neither, indeed, did they seem to have any conception in what manner people in distress must endeavour to live, even without bread or other provisions in common use amongst the Europeans. It is in fact inconceivable how any men, at a time when want and famine stared them as it were in the face, could be so inactive and insensible as those people have been described to us. Humanity startles at the high degree of callousness and the forgetfulness of every duty exhibited by these people, when we read that one of them came behind another who was digging up some roots out of the earth, and killed him, with a view to prepare himself a meal from his fellow-creature's flesh; and that a third, smelling the delicious odour of broiled meat, went up to the murderer, and, by threats and menaces, extorted from him a share in this shocking meal*.

* This fact is here misrepresented. The man who quarrelled with the murderer did not know on what kind of flesh the latter was feasting; and when he was informed of it, went, it seems, and divulged the matter to the rest of his companions. Vide Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 130.

It appears also, by an act of Parliament, passed in the reign of King Edward VI. A. D. 1584, that for the better promotion of the fishery in *Iceland* and *Newfoundland*, the exaction of money, fish, or other rewards, under any pretext whatsoever, from the English fishermen and mariners going on this service, was prohibited. This serves at least to prove, that the English, even at that time, were accustomed to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; as also, that many other nations at the same time used to carry on a lucrative fishery, which it was intended to wrest out of their hands by these means.

The Captain of a vessel from Bristol, by name *Antony Parkhurst*, in 1578, gave the learned *Richard Hakluyt* a very authentic and good account of the great cod-fishery which was then annually carried on in the vicinity of Newfoundland; by which it appears, that at that time about 50 English ships were employed on this fishery. For the same purpose there used also to come about 100 Spanish ships, and about 20 or 30 from Biscay, which latter went thither with a view to the whale-fishery only. All the Spanish ships taken together, made about 5 or 600 tons burthen. Moreover, there came about 50 Portuguese ships to fish for cod, and their ships might carry about 3000 tons. Finally, there came also from France, and that chiefly from Brittany, 150 ships, carrying all together about 7000 tons. Parkhurst gave likewise a very picturesque description of the immense quantity of fish which arrived yearly off *Newfoundland*; as also of the remaining products of the country, such as game, birds, and fowls, furs, salt, copper, and iron, and other profitable articles of commerce.

In the same year 1578, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* obtained from Queen Elizabeth a munificent grant for the peopling and occupation of all such heathen countries as were not at that time peopled and occupied by any other Christian power. In consequence of this, many of his friends and acquaintance joined him; so that it was hoped this preparation would increase to such a fleet as would be able even to encounter
a royal

a royal squadron; but just as they were ready for sailing, many of them declined their former engagements; notwithstanding which Sir Humphrey, with a few friends and ships, ventured on this expedition. They had hardly set sail, when a violent storm damaged the fleet very much, and occasioned the loss of one of their largest ships. Now, though the adventurous Knight suffered a great loss thereby, having engaged in this affair a considerable part of his fortune, by which means his estate was deeply involved; he nevertheless endeavoured by every means in his power to put his plan in execution, and gave away tracts of land on the mouth of the river *Canada*, to other people, on condition of their peopling and stocking them. But finding that they did not intend to fulfil these conditions, he resolved at last to undertake this voyage once more himself, as there were but two years remaining before the entire expiration of the royal grant. He made therefore every possible effort, and was moreover assisted by some friends with money as well as advice, and at length set sail with five ships and about 160 men from *Causon* (Causand) Bay, near *Plymouth*, on the 11th of June, 1583. They met with storms and abundance of fogs, chiefly on the great fishing-bank that lies before Newfoundland. On the 11th of July they saw land; but finding nothing before them but bare rocks, they shaped their course more to the southward, and arrived at length at *Penguin Island**, where they took in a good stock of fowls. After this, they repaired to the Island of *Baccalaos*, and to the Bay of *Conception*, where they met again with the *Swallow*, one of the ships they had lost in the fog. Then they ran into the bay of *St. John*, where they found a great number of ships, English as well as foreigners, which were there on

* This Penguin Island must not be confounded with that Penguin Island which was seen by Hore; for that is on the southern coast of Newfoundland, while this is on the eastern, and is now called *Fogo*.

account of the cod-fishery. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* now took possession of the island, and of all other lands that lay 200 leagues from it in all directions; and received rich presents from all the Captains of the ships that lay off that island, particularly from the Portuguese, who were very numerous there. By one of these he was informed that, about 30 years before, several hogs, as well as horned cattle, had been landed on the island of *Sablon* (Sable Island). After having taken possession, the Admiral made enquiry concerning the nature of the country, and he and his people began to explore it themselves. This country was found to be in summer very hot, but extremely cold in winter; yet not so cold as to be insupportable. The sea surrounding Newfoundland abounded so much in fish, that there were but few instances of any thing equal to it elsewhere. In the bays and rivers there were salmons and trouts, and in every part of the sea bonitos, turbot and large lobsters; also a kind of large herrings, equal to those of Norway. There was a great number of whales; wood grew with the greatest luxuriance over the whole country, which therefore was capable of furnishing masts, planks, timber for shipping, tar, fish, and potash, in great abundance. There was also game of all kinds, so that they could easily get hides and all sorts of furs. Moreover the soil was very fertile, so that by cultivation they might obtain great quantities of hemp, flax, and corn, and manufacture the former of these into ropes, cables, linen, and other commodities. Add to this, that all kinds of fowl were found here in great plenty. They likewise discovered iron ore, lead, and copper. Nay, Master *Daniel*, a native of Saxony, an honest and religious man, and a very expert miner and assayer, brought Sir Humphry Gilbert a kind of ore, saying, that if he was in search of silver, this certainly was what he wanted, and that he would stake his life that there was some silver in this ore. As there was a great number of foreign ships then in the harbour, Sir Humphry did not chuse to have this

this affair much talked of, and ordered the ore to be carried immediately on board. While he was on shore, many of the people going to a neighbouring bay, seized upon a ship, and having put the crew ashore, sailed away with it; some of his people ran away and hid themselves in the woods; others fell sick of the dysentery or flux, and many died of that distemper; the fleet, therefore, was divided: one ship remained with the sick, and some were sent home. But he, for his part, was desirous of pursuing his discoveries, and of taking possession of some other countries which lay to the southward, and therefore set sail in order to find the land of *Cape Briton*, as also the island of *Sablon*, where there was said to be a great quantity of cattle. Sailing to and fro in these parts, with contrary winds, the great Admiral ship struck on a sand-bank, in a thick fog, and was wrecked; some few people, however, saved themselves in a small boat, but all the rest were lost. This misfortune, together with the circumstance of the season of the year being advanced, determined the Commander in Chief for the present to return to England. Accordingly they shaped their course thither. Near England they were overtaken by another storm; when a small vessel, on board of which the Admiral then happened to be, went to the bottom with him.

With respect to this unfortunate voyage, I shall only make my remarks on some particulars. First, it appears, that very soon after the discovery of Newfoundland, the fishery on the banks or shallows to the east and south of this country was carried on by the Portuguese, Biscayans, French, and other nations, who usurped this fishery on the coast of a country which the Crown of England had discovered at its own expence. As long as Spain, Portugal, and France, were strong and powerful at sea, the English did not venture to dispute with them the title to this fishery; but as soon as Spain was engaged in a war with England, the latter, in 1585, sent a squadron into these seas, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who seized all the Portuguese ships,

ships, and carried them, as good and lawful prizes, to England ; and in process of time, as the power of England increased at sea, she endeavoured to exclude entirely from this fishery, of so great importance to the Roman Catholic powers, both Portugal and Spain, who were declining very fast. In the year 1756, England took all the French fishing vessels that visited those seas, whereby France lost upwards of 25,000 seamen, and during the whole remainder of the war, was incapable of manning her fleet properly. By the peace of Paris nothing was left the French but the island of *St. Pierre*, and the two *Miquelons*, together with a paltry title to the fishery, cramped by a thousand restrictions. They have, however, stipulated rather more freedom for themselves, and made better conditions, in the late peace of 1783. The Americans who, from the beginning, have always taken a share in this fishery, have also been confirmed by the same peace in this prerogative, now that they have acquired independence. In the second place, it is very clear, in the instance mentioned here, of the Portuguese having stocked the island of *Sablon* with tame domestic animals ; that this nation, as well as the Spaniards, directly after the first discovery of America, and of the new route to India, used to stock all the islands and continents with tame, domestic animals, which they turned loose there, and which in some places have increased greatly ; e. g. the immense number of wild horses and oxen found in *Chili* and *Patagonia*, proceed from those which the Spaniards had at first turned loose in those countries. At *Ascension Island* there are still in being some wild goats which the Portuguese had left there ; and in like manner there are yet some wild goats remaining at *St. Helena*. In the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, too, there was in the former part of this century a great number of wild goats ; but they are very much diminished, and perhaps are even entirely extirpated, since the Spaniards have turned some dogs loose there, which have nearly devoured all these animals. There were likewise great numbers of wild oxen, hogs, and fowls on the isle of *Ti-*

nian; but the dogs left on the island have in like manner thinned their numbers greatly, and have rendered them very shy. On the *Manillas*, or *Luzon*, and on some other of the Philippine Islands there are still considerable herds of wild horses and oxen, proceeding from those which the Spaniards had left there. In fact, the first discoverers of the new world were men of humanity, and were desirous of providing for such unfortunate people as might happen to be cast away on those coasts. On the other hand, the false policy of modern times is tyrannical and callous, exporting dogs to those places, which the first discoverers of them had stocked with useful and domestic animals. Are these, then, the happy consequences of the so-much-boasted, enlightened state of the present age, and of the refinement of manners peculiar to these our times? Father of mercies! when will philanthropy, now almost banished from the universe, again take up its abode in the breasts of men, of Christians, and of the rulers of the earth!

This taking possession of Newfoundland, effected A. D. 1585, on the part of the Crown of England, is the foundation of the rights this nation has to the fishery carried on by her subjects in those seas, which would be still more profitable for the English if Newfoundland was better peopled. But the revolt of the thirteen North-American Colonies, the great decrease of population in Great-Britain, in consequence of the frequent wars she has been engaged in, and many other considerations, make the English extremely averse in every respect to promote the population and cultivation of these very fine islands. There are in *Newfoundland*, as well as at *Cape Breton*, such rich coal mines, that if the Crown would but grant leave to work them, their produce would be sufficient to supply all Europe and America abundantly with this commodity; and some are even so commodiously situated, that the coals might be thrown directly from the coal-works themselves into

the ships, as they lie close to the shore. This piece of intelligence I had from my late friend, the great circumnavigator, Capt. *Cook*, who, for several years successively, had explored the shores of this island, taken their bearings and respective distances, and laid them down on charts.

X. Some merchants, and gentlemen of landed property, as also some noblemen belonging to the Court, in 1385 formed an association for the purpose of sending out two ships on discoveries, under the command of *John Davis*, a very experienced navigator. They set sail from *Dartmouth* on the 7th of June, and, on the 13th of the same month, left *Falmouth*. First they sailed to the westward, and then to the north-west. They met with a great number of whales and dolphins, one of which latter they killed with a spear, took it on board, and eat it, when the flesh seemed to them as well tasted as mutton. On the 19th of July they heard a great noise in the sea during a thick fog. The current set to the northward; with a line of 300 fathoms they found no ground; and they discovered that the noise they had heard proceeded from the waves dashing against the ice. They loaded their boat quite full with this ice, which, when melted, produced good palatable water. The next day, viz. the 20th of July, they saw land, which consisted entirely of summits of mountains in the form of sugar-loaves, quite covered with snow, some of them indeed reaching above the clouds. They named this horrid land *the Land of Desolation*.

The whole of this land was so surrounded with ice, that they could not come near it. They imagined they saw forests upon it, and in the sea found some drift-wood, out of which they took up one entire tree, with the roots upon it, which was 60 feet long, and 14 spans in circumference. On the 25th they shaped their course to the north-west in hopes to find the wished-for passage. After four days sailing, they again saw land on the 29th of July, in 64 deg. 15 min. N. lat. in which

which land they found many convenient harbours and deep sounds, one of which they named *Gilbert's Sound*. They went on shore, and saw some of the inhabitants, cloathed in seal skins, with whom they soon became friends, and obtained almost any thing for which they shewed but the smallest inclination; for the natives gave away their clothes, boats, and arms, and in lieu of them, accepted any thing that was offered them. The English expressing their wishes for more furs, the inhabitants promised to return the next day. They did not, however, venture to come near the English, till both parties had repeatedly pointed to the sun, and then struck their breasts. Here they found again *Moscovy glass* (*Mica membranacea Linnæi*) as also the same kind of ore as had been found by Sir Martin Frobisher. Next morning, the wind being favourable, *Davis* would not wait for the return of the inhabitants, but pursued his course to the north-westward. On the 6th of August, he again saw land, in 66 deg. 40 min. N. lat. The road was named *Totnefs Road*; the sound which encompassed a high mountain glittering like gold, *Exeter Sound*; the mountain itself, *Mount Raleigh*; the northern promontory, *Dyer's Cape*, and the southern, *Cape Walsingham*, after the then Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Walsingham*. Here they met with four white bears, three of which they killed, and the next day they dispatched another enormously large one, the paws of which measured 14 inches in breadth. On the 8th of August, *Davis* sailed south south-west, along the coast. On the 11th, he saw the most southern point of this land, which he called the *Cape of God's Mercy*, and, having sailed round it, he found a large strait, which in some places was 20 leagues broad. The weather was mild, and the sea bore the colour and appearance of the ocean. *Davis* was now in great hopes of finding at last the passage. He sailed up the straits 60 leagues, and in the middle of them found many islands, and an open passage on both sides. In making this research, he divided his ships, so that one of them was to explore the north passage, and the other

the south. But the south-east winds, bad weather, and thick fogs setting in, they were thereby prevented from advancing any farther. They went on shore, and found traces of people dwelling there, and likewise saw dogs with pricked ears and thick bushy tails, one of which animals had a collar about its neck. Two sledges, the one of which was made of fir, spruce, and oaken boards; the other of whalebone, were also found there, together with some carved images, and the model of a boat. In this sea they met with a great many islands, with large sounds passing between them: they rowed farther on between the islands, and saw several whales, which they had not seen at the mouth of the Straits to the eastward. They proceeded by the assistance of the tide which went along with them from the east to the west, and the rise and fall of which was six or seven fathoms (i. e. from 36 to 42 feet). Here, at 300 fathoms, they could find no ground. But the most remarkable circumstance was, that going along with the tide to the south-west, they were met all at once by a strong counter tide, without being able to imagine the cause. The depth of the sea at the mouth of the Straits was about 90 fathoms; but the farther they advanced in it, the more the depth increased, and here there was no ground at 330 fathoms. But the wind being against them, they resolved to turn back. On the 10th of September they saw the *Land of Desolation*, where they resolved to go ashore; but, a violent storm arising, they could not put their design in execution. Upon this, they hastened homewards, and on the 30th of September arrived again safely at *Dartmouth*.

Thus it appears that *Davis* was the first who in later times saw the western coast of Greenland, on which *Cape Desolation* lies. He afterwards discovered land farther to the westward, on the island which he afterwards himself called *Cumberland's Island*. On this island also is *Munt Raleigh*, *Totness-Road*, *Exeter Sound*, *Dyer's Cape*, and *Cape Walsingham*. The sea between *Cumberland's Island* and the western coast of Greenland was afterwards named *Davis's Straits*; and as in the sequel all the land quite to *Button's Islands*, on the coast of Labrador, was discovered by *Davis*, *Davis's Straits* were also extended as far as this

this spot. He likewise saw the Cape of *God's Mercy*, and the straits which he also afterwards called *Cumberland Straits*. These then are *Davis's* discoveries on his first voyage, which shew him to have been an honest, and, at the same time, enterprizing man. He ordered his people by no means to injure the natives on Cumberland Island, and by his friendly conduct and presents, he gained the goodwill of these harmless creatures, who have the same origin with the *Greenlanders* and the *Labrador Eskimaux*. So true it is, that gentle and humane treatment will in the end gain the affections of every one, and serves to cement mankind together by the social ties of philanthropy and friendship; an assertion which receives additional confirmation from the kind and even affectionate behaviour of the Moravian brethren in our times towards the *Greenlanders* and the *Eskimaux* in *Okak* and *Nain*, on the coast of Labrador; in consequence of which they live with those people on the most friendly terms, while the other Europeans, who reside in Hudson's Bay, and the fishermen about Newfoundland, are accustomed by circumvention and fraud, as well as by acts of repeated violence, to raise quarrels and debates on every the least occasion with this miserable handful of human beings, by which means they sow in the rude and uncultivated minds of these innocent people the seeds of hatred, malice, and mistrust, which they perpetually nourish by their continual oppressions.

The tide which met *Davis* in the south-western arm of *Cumberland Straits*, between the cluster of islands there, and which was contrary to that by which he went, must undoubtedly have appeared very strange to him, and perhaps he might take it as a proof that this tide came from some other ocean, perhaps from the western one: but if we only cast an eye on the map of the North Pole, we shall easily conceive, that the same tide which had forced itself through *Davis's Straits* into *Cumberland Straits*, may also have come through those of *Hudson*, round the Island of *Good Fortune*, as far as to the end of *Cumberland Straits*,

Straits, near the group of islands where the two tides must of course have met, and the one have retarded the other. We see, then, how cautious we ought to be in forming and adopting conclusions of this kind, and more especially when, upon the strength of them, we are about to enter upon an expensive undertaking. It is the same thing with regard to the increasing depth of the sea, the transparency of the sea-water, and to the abundance of whales which were found at the end of Cumberland Straits; they cease to be proofs of the existence of a passage here, as soon as we are acquainted with the real situation of the neighbouring countries, which was not discovered till some time afterwards. *Davis* saw here Muscovy glafs, and such ores as *Frobisher* had brought home from the coast. I am myself in possession of some Mica and Muscovy glafs from Greenland; and thence it becomes probable that the soil of almost all the mountains in east and west Greenland, and on the islands beyond *Davis's* Straits, are of the same nature and contain the same kinds of stones.

XI. On the 7th of May, 1586, Captain *John Davis* set out from Dartmouth, with four ships, on his second voyage. Two of these ships went into the Straits between Greenland and Iceland, to seek for a passage there. Nearly where *Statenboek* is now, *Davis* saw land, but the ice hindered him from proceeding farther. He was therefore obliged to sail to 57 deg. N. lat. in order to avoid the ice. Having weathered many storms, he came in 64 deg. N. lat. to a land lying to the eastward of him, entered into a harbour, then known by the name of *Gilbert's Sound*; but which is at present called, in the Danish language, *God Haab* (or Good Hope). Here they found many inhabitants, with whom they entered into a friendly intercourse, and who, in return for some trifling presents, rendered their visitors many friendly services, but nevertheless could not resist the temptation of stealing

stealing from the Europeans, even before their faces, all the iron and iron utensils they could get at. And though Davis always endeavoured as much as possible to put the best construction on every thing, yet they carried the boldness of their thefts rather too far. The English attempted to frighten them with their fire-arms, which had some effect, but they soon returned and made their peace again; which they, however, broke afresh by throwing large stones, of half a pound weight, into the ships, by one of which the boatswain of one of the ships was felled to the ground. At length Davis yielded to the pressing entreaties of his crew, and they seized the ringleader of these assailants, and soon after, getting a fair wind, the ships set sail on the 11th of July. The great quantity of ice they now met with, and the intense cold which froze all the rigging of the ships, disheartened the crew and made them sickly; insomuch, that though Davis was already far advanced to the northward, yet the danger of the voyage, and the murmurings of his crew, determined him to steer to the east south-east, when, on the 1st of August, he discovered land in 66 deg. 33 min. N. lat. and 70 deg. W. long. from London. Here he took some provisions out of the larger ship, and endeavoured to encrease the burthen of his, by taking in additional ballast. He purchased from the inhabitants some seal-skins, quitted the large ship and sailed with the smaller one to the west, and again in 66 deg. 19 min. N. lat. found land, which was at the distance of 70 leagues from that which they had left last. On the 15th he departed from this land to the southward, and on the 18th saw land in the N. W. On the same day saw land again in the S. W. by S. On the 17th of August he was in 64 deg. 20 min. N. lat. Here he met with a strong current, setting to the westward. He explored the land, and found that it consisted almost entirely of islands. Till the 28th of August he shaped his course constantly to the southward, from the 67th to the 57th deg. N. lat. coasting all the while. Here they saw astonishing quantities of mews, and other sea-fowl. They also caught, with

a very indifferent apparatus, upwards of 100 large cods. At length on the 28th of August they arrived in 56 deg. N. lat. in a harbour two leagues in breadth, and sailed up above 10 leagues into it. The shores on both sides of it were covered with fine forests. Here they lay at anchor till the 1st of Sept. and in the mean time had two heavy storms. The forests were composed of fir, pine, alder, yew, osier, and birch. Here, too, they saw a black bear; and of the fowl kind they saw pheasants (*Tetrao Phasianellus*, or long-tailed grouse) Barbary hens (meaning the *Tetrao Canadensis*, or spotted grouse) Partridges (viz. the *Tetrao togatus*, or shoulderknot grouse) Wild-geese, ducks, blackbirds, jays, (meaning the *Corvus Canadensis*, or cinereous grouse) Thrushes (viz. the *Turdus migratorius*, or red-breasted thrush) and many other small birds. Of the pheasants and partridges they killed a considerable number, and likewise caught a great quantity of cod. Having set sail on the 1st of September, they ranged along the coast till the 3d, when a calm afforded them leisure again for fishing. On this coast, which was in 54 deg. 30 min. N. lat. they caught a great many excellent cod; and some very experienced fishers on board the ship assured the Captain, that they had never seen larger shoals of these fish. They went on till the 4th, when they came to an anchor, being quite surrounded with woody islands. At about eight leagues from this spot, they had seen a strong current passing between two lands, and taking its direction to the westward, which gave them hopes of finding a passage there, and particularly, as towards the south there lay a great number of islands. At this place they had left a quantity of fish on an island, and sent five young sailors to bring it ashore; but the inhabitants, who lay secretly lurking in the woods, shot at them on a sudden with their arrows, so that two of them died, two were dangerously wounded, and but one escaped, which he did by swimming, though his arm too was pierced with an arrow. The people on board, it is true, slipped their cables, and bore up to the shore; but the mischief was already
ready

ready done; however, they sent two discharges of a double musket amongst these cruel and treacherous savages, and thereby forced them to fly. Immediately after this, too, they met with a violent storm, which had nearly driven them on shore, though they had partly taken in their yards and booms. At length, the wind abating, they found their anchor again, and, having new moored their ship, weathered out another storm, and at length set sail on the 11th of September, and, in the beginning of October, landed safely in England.

The two ships which were to seek for a passage between East Greenland and Iceland, left the Captain on the 7th of June in about 60 degrees N. lat. and had orders to seek for a passage as far as 80 deg. N. lat. if not prevented by the land. So early as on the 9th they saw large fields of ice, till the 11th, when they descried land, which on the 12th they found to be *Iceland*, in 66 deg. The inhabitants here had stockfish, ling, and skates (*Raja Batis*) in abundance, also horses, oxen, and sheep, and hay to feed their cattle with. Their houses were built of stone, and covered with wood, over which was laid another covering of turf. Their tools and utensils were like those in England, of wood, brass, copper, &c. On the 16th of June they left Iceland, and sailed strait on to the north-west. On the 3d of July they were between two firm fields of ice, and nevertheless sailed on between them, till late in the night; when they tacked about and made for Greenland. On the 7th they saw Greenland. The land was high and of a blue colour; but they were prevented from landing by the firm and solid ice which lay before it: they therefore continued ranging along the coast. On the 17th they saw the Land of *Desolation*, so called by *Davis* the year before. But the ice hindered them from landing there. On the 3d of August they anchored in *Gilbert's Sound*, their place of ren-

devious ; but *Davis* had set sail from thence on the 11th of July. They traded peaceably with the Greenlanders till the 30th of August, when a quarrel happened about a boat that had been bought of the latter, and which they would not deliver up. Several men were killed on both sides, and others wounded. On the 31st of August they set sail, and came into the Thames, as high as *Ratcliff*, on the 6th of October.

This voyage of Capt. *John Davis* is in every respect of the highest importance. The great fault of it is, that in consequence of his not having named the countries he saw, it is very unintelligible. Thus much, however, we are able to collect from it; that he a second time put into *Gilbert's Sound*, which had been discovered the year before, and was situated on the west side of Greenland. After this, *Davis* went again, in foggy weather, into *Cumberland Straits*, as far as the group of islands there, and it was entirely owing to the murmurings of his crew that he at length ran into a harbour on the south side of *Cumberland Straits*, or in the island of *Good Fortune*, in 66 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 70 deg. W. long. from London. He again met with land, situated on the north side of *Cumberland Straits*, or in *Cumberland Island*. Then he tacked about to the south, and saw land continually to the westward. On the 19th of August he was in 64 deg. 20 min. N. lat. somewhere about the *Bay of Good Fortune*. In 57 deg. he saw land again, and consequently he was already on the coast of *Labrador*. On the 28th of August he put into a deep inlet in lat. 56. The former of these is nearly where the islands are situated which lie directly before the colony of the Moravian brethren, called *Nain*. The latter is probably the inlet that lies to the west of *Nantucktuht*. In like manner the place situated in 54 deg. 30 min. N. L. near the large inlet, where they found the great sea running to the west, is the inlet of *Eywucktoke*. From whence they soon hastened eastward for England. The voyage of the other ships is full as indeterminate. However the first part of
Iceland

Iceland they met with should seem to have been somewhere about *Bardestrandfjæll*, in the *Westfildinga Fiordung*, perhaps in *Patrickfjord* Harbour. To the north-west of this place is that part of East Greenland, through which probably the strait goes, which comes from *Christian's Haab*, and which is at present entirely blocked up with ice, whence it is that that there is annually so much ice likewise at this spot, as to prevent the ships from advancing any farther. This was also now the case with the bold and enterprising English, and they were obliged to range along the coast to the south-west, till they came at length round by *Cape Farewell* to the *Land of Desolation* and *Gilbert's Sound*. Consequently they hardly went as far as 67 deg. though they were to have gone to 80.

The inhabitants of the different countries where Davis touched were treated by him with great tenderness; and yet those of Greenland at length gave flagrant proofs of their perfidy, and were guilty of continual infractions of the peace; but it should seem as if Davis's people had not always told him by what means the Greenlanders had been provoked to these violations of the peace; their attacking the English with slings and stones seems to indicate a great animosity on the part of these people, and consequently their having received some previous offence. But on the coast of Labrador the inhabitants appear to have had less humanity, and to have been more unpolished in their manners than those of Greenland; though indeed it is not improbable but that these people may have been, previous to this period, ill-treated, and excited to vengeance by the Europeans that used to fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and towards the north. Iron, being so solid and indestructible a metal, had at all times such a strong attraction for these poor wretches, that they could not possibly resist the great temptation it lay them under of stealing. The Europeans, too, were always so remiss in their care of this article, as to make it very easy for them to commit this theft, and thus provoke the vengeance of these latter. The description of *Labrador*, here presented to us, seems also

to agree perfectly with that given of this coast by Lieutenant *Curtis*, in the Philosophical Transactions : forests, birds, and game in abundance, together with an astonishing quantity of fish.

XII. Finally, we come to the third and most important of *Davis's* voyages of discovery, which was made in the year 1587. There were three ships fitted out, one of which only was destined to the purpose of making discoveries, the two others being intended for fishing. Leaving *Dartmouth* on the 19th of May, they sailed straight on to the coast of *West Greenland*, and landed on the 16th of June on one of the islands in 64 deg. N. lat. Here *Davis* parted with the two other ships, ordering them to follow the fishery to 55 or 54 deg. N. lat. and to wait for him till the end of August. He shaped his own course N. W. and sometimes N. as also N. W. by N. and even N. by E. Being come to 67 deg. 40 min. N. lat. i. e. opposite to *Disko Road*, he saw a great number of whales, and of those fowls which the sailors call *Cortinous*. Here some inhabitants came in their small boats, and bartered their darts armed with pointed bones, for a knife. The next day upwards of 30 boats came 10 leagues distance from the land, and brought young salmon, sea-birds, and caplin (*Gadus minutus* Linnæi) which they exchanged for needles, bracelets, nails, knives, small bells, looking-glasses, and other trifles ; but they brought only 20 seal-skins. On the 30th of June they were in 72 deg. 12 min. N. lat. and as the sun during the whole time, and even at midnight, remained above the horizon, the variation of the needle was found to be 28 degrees west, the image of the sun being 5 degrees above the horizon. The whole of this coast was called *London Coast*. The sea had for the whole time been open to the west and north, and the land on the starboard side had all along been to the east. But, the wind shifting to the north, they could not sail any farther to that point of the compass ; however, *Davis* called point of land *Hope Sanderfon*, after Mr. *William Sanderfon*, who contributed

tributed the largest share in fitting out the ship for the discovery, and then shaped his course to the west. After sailing 40 leagues, he found a very large field of ice. Here he would willingly have sailed again to the northward along the ice, but the north wind would not permit it. He tried once more to force his way through it, having perceived a small opening, but was soon obliged to return after having spent two days between the ice. The weather being fair and calm, they coasted along the ice to the southward. Finding that the sun had great power, *Davis* thought it would be better to wait a few days, and then, when the ice should be waisted away by the wind, the sea, and the sun, to make another effort to the westward; he therefore stood over to the eastern coast. But his people were too timorous to anchor here, and he stood out to sea again to the westward. The poor inhabitants, notwithstanding that the waves ran high, followed them out to sea, and bartered for some trifles. *Davis* having tarried some time longer in this sea, near the ice, surrounded with fogs, at length discovered *Mount Raleigh*, in *Cumberland Island*. On the 20th of July he arrived at the entrance of *Cumberland Straits*. By the 23d he had sailed 60 leagues up these straits, and anchored among a great number of Islands, situated in a cluster at the end of the bay, and which he called after the Earl of *Cumberland*. Whilst they were at anchor here, a whale passed them, and went westward in among the isles. The variation of the needle here was 30 degrees west. When they returned to sea by the same way by which they were come, they were overtaken by a calm, and it was excessive hot. *Bruton*, the master of the ship, going on shore with some of the sailors for the purpose of hunting, saw several graves, and also found train-oil spilled on the ground. The dogs of the natives which they saw were so fat that they were scarcely able to run. *Davis* having left *Cumberland Straits*, and being again in the open sea, discovered, between 62 and 63 deg. N. lat. an opening which, after my Lord *Lumley*, he called *Lumley's Inlet*. Here he found strong and boisterous currents,
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like cataracts, which also hurried away the ship very swiftly along with them. On the 31st of July he saw a headland, which he named *Warwick's Foreland*. The direction of the current was to the westward, and the water formed a whirlpool, with a loud roaring noise. On the 1st of August he saw in 61 deg. 10 min. N. lat. a promontory on the south-west side of the inlet, which he called *Cbidley's Cape*. Having had nothing but fogs and calms for several days, they came at length to an island, which Davis, after Lord *Darcy*, named *Darcy's Island*. On the top of it they found some animals of the stag kind; but having landed to shoot them, and having chased them two or three times round the island, the deer swam over to another island at three leagues distance. One of them was very fat, as large as a cow, and had very broad feet, as large as those of an ox. While they were looking about for the ships, which Davis had ordered to fish here, and to wait for him till the end of August, their vessel struck upon a rock and sprang a leak; which, however, they were afterwards so fortunate as to stop, even during a storm. On the 15th of August he came to 52 deg. 12 min. N. lat. where he saw a great number of whales: but not being able to find any trace of the two ships, they having finished their fishery in 16 days, and sailed home, he resolved to shape his course for England. On the 16th of August therefore he quitted this coast, and on the 15th of September arrived at Dartmouth.

Davis seems to have possessed a considerable share of humanity, industry, and resolution. He went farther to the north than any of his predecessors; and if the ice had not prevented him, he would certainly then have made the discovery which was afterwards happily effected in 1616, by *Baffin*.

The northern regions, notwithstanding all the fogs that are to be met with there, seem in general to enjoy a clearer sky than the southern

southern countries situated under the same parallel of latitude, Neither at 66 deg. 30 min. S. lat. (where, however, we were three times) nor even when we had got as far as to 71 deg. 12 min. S. latitude, did we ever see the sun above the horizon; and when it did shine out in the day time, still so many fogs were collected towards evening, that we could never see the image of it, though it continued to be broad day-light, and that even at midnight.

During all the three warm seasons which we spent in the southern hemisphere, at a great distance from the Equator, though not so far southward as Davis was to the north, we met, it is true, with mild days, yet never saw the thermometer rise more than a few degrees above the freezing point; it appears, therefore, very remarkable, that Davis should mention more than once the weather's being extremely hot in 72 and 66 deg. N. lat. The cause of this great heat can therefore only be attributed to the great quantity of land by which they were surrounded. The want of land in the southern hemisphere is, on the contrary, the cause of the more intense cold there, as I have proved in a more ample manner in my *Observations* *.

The animals of the stag kind, found on the coast of *Labrador*, may have been either the American stag or the reindeer, or else the elk, or what is called the moose deer. I am rather inclined to think that it was this latter which Davis saw here.

XIII. The English at length found it advisable to send a squadron, consisting of four large ships, to the East-Indies. The execution of this great enterprize was entrusted to Capt. *George Raymond*, and after his death to Capt. *James Lancaster*. The squadron set sail in the year 1591, and Lancaster returned in 1593. Having encountered a heavy storm near the Cape, and being in danger of sinking with his ship, his own crew endeavoured to persuade him to go on board one of the

* *Observations made during a Voyage round the World.*

other vessels; but he with great magnanimity refused it, and resolved at all events to keep his post. However he took this opportunity of writing by the other ships to England. In his letter he assured the Company, that he would still try every means to save his ship and cargo; and in the mean time could inform them, that the passage to the Indies was in the north-west of America, in 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. This declaration from a man of such extensive knowledge in navigation, and who had had so fair an opportunity of collecting many different relations and accounts from the Portuguese in the Indies, could not fail of having great weight in England. To the information collected, there may also be added that given by some Portuguese, taken prisoners by the English, viz. that a ship of their nation had some time before sailed upwards along the coast of China to the northward, and had found an open sea to 55 deg. N. lat. The two Companies of Russia and Turkey Merchants resolved, therefore, to have this passage sought for at their joint expence; and accordingly they fitted out two ships, the command of which was entrusted to Captain *George Weymouth*, or *Waymouth*.

Weymouth set sail from England in the *Discovery*, on the 2d of May. He went round Scotland to the northward, by the Orkneys. On the 18th of June he saw ice, and the southernmost part of Greenland. Soon after, viz. on the 28th, he went to the westward, and in 62 deg. N. lat. discovered *Warwick's Foreland*, which he found to be nothing more than an island. He next came to *Lumley's Inlet*, where there was a strong current to the westward, in 61 deg. N. lat. at the distance of 12 leagues from the coast of the American continent. On the 1st of June the air was cold, with fogs and snow. On the 2d he descried a large mass of ice; he hoisted out his boat, and took on board two loads of ice, which made very good fresh water. He met with many
currents

currents along the coast of America, which appeared to him not like a continent, but as if it consisted of nothing but islands. On the 3d and 8th he saw the land of America, which was high, and covered with snow, in 60 deg. 53 min. N. lat. On the 17th the weather was very gloomy, foggy, and cold, so that all his rigging and sails were covered with ice. The next day it was still very cold, inasmuch that his rigging still continued to be frozen, and he could not get forward in the least with his ship. His crew had conspired to mutiny against him, and intended to return straight to England. But, being informed of this plot in time, he prevented its being put into execution. On the 22d, being already in 68 deg. 55 min. N. lat. (or rather 63 deg. 53 min.) he sent for the most refractory among them, and punished them severely; he also had the boats hoisted out in order to take up some ice, to make into fresh water. This large island of ice burst asunder two or three times, with a noise like that of thunder, by which means nearly one of the boats, that had already got in half its lading, was very much damaged. On the 25th he saw the entrance of an inlet, in 61 deg. 40 min. N. lat. On the 30th the west and north-west winds blew very hard, and the season being already far advanced, many of the crew were sick in both ships. He determined therefore to return, though he had already sailed near 100 leagues up the inlet, which was 40 leagues broad. The variation of the needle was 35 degrees to the west. By the 5th of July he had got quite clear of the bay. He then sailed along the coast of America, involved in almost continual fogs, and between numerous islands of ice. In 55 deg. 30 min. N. lat. he saw an island. He continued ranging along this coast till the 14th, in foul weather, and between many islands. In 56 deg. he entered an inlet, and, by many probable reasons, was induced to hope for a passage. In 55 deg. 30 min. and in 55 deg. 50 min. N. lat. he found the variation of the needle to be 17 deg. 15 min. and 18 deg. 12 min. to the westwards. The coast was clear of ice. If any ice ever comes here, it comes from the north. He

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observed that a whirlwind carried the sea-water to an extraordinary height in the air. He had sailed 30 leagues up an inlet, in 56 deg. N. lat. a circumstance which undoubtedly must have proved his destruction, if the wind but for one day only had blown from the north, south, or east. On the 4th of August he descried the Scilly Islands, and the next day arrived at *Dartmouth*.

The account given by *Lancaster*, as he returned to England, and thus was able to prove the truth and authenticity of it by entering into minute details, and answering particular objections, must have had great weight with the Russia and Turkey Companies; for it induced them to give orders for a new expedition for the purpose of making the discovery. The East-Indies, the very profitable trade to those parts, and the immense wealth arising from this trade, were the objects of the desires of all the maritime powers of Europe. The Portuguese and the Spaniards, at that time united under the same master, were in possession of all the defensible places where any refreshments were to be had on the voyage. Without places of this kind for the supplying of vessels with provisions and water on so long and tedious a passage, it was then, and indeed is partly still, impossible to undertake a voyage to the East-Indies which took up at least six months in going, and as long a time in returning. All nations were therefore busy in seeking a new route to India, in the course of which they might establish for their own use similar store-houses and places of refreshment. This determined the English, and afterwards also the Dutch, to seek for such a route, as well in the north-east as likewise in the north-west. Now as it appears by *Lancaster's* account, that the Portuguese had advanced with their ships as far as to 55 deg. N. lat. to the northwards of China, and had found a free and open sea without any land at all; as also that, according to some probable arguments, the passage to the Indies must be sought for somewhere in 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. to the north-west of America, it would seem that the Portuguese ships went either into the vicinity of

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the island of *Sagalin Angabata*, of the river *Amur*, and so on as far as the neighbourhood of the river *Uda*, where at present is the Russian settlement *Udskoi*, (supposing they sailed along the coast of the continent to the northward of China) : or else, in case they sailed by the islands of *Lekiu*, *Japan*, or *Nipon* (which had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1542) *Matfmai*, and the *Kuriles*, they must necessarily have reached *Kamtshaka*, in 55 deg. N. lat. and *Lancaster* must have founded his account of the existence of a passage in 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. merely on a conjecture taken from the voyages of *Davis*.

The tide which flows into the capacious opening called Hudson's Bay, causes in it, according to the unanimous testimony of the different navigators who have been there, at 66 deg. in *Cumberland Straits*, from 60 to 62 deg. in *Hudson's Straits*, and at 59 deg. where probably another strait divides the land of *Labrador*, a strong current; and perhaps there are more entrances into the same strait, at 56 deg. 15 min. N. lat. at 55 deg. † min. and at 54 deg. 40 min. which have not as yet been explored enough, and yet have a strong current. It is probable that the tide, which presses by so many different ways into *Hudson's* and *Baffin's Bay*, may run out again through *Davis's Straits**.

This voyage affords again two instances of ice having been taken up out of the sea in boats, and converted into fresh water fit for drinking. This therefore is already the third confirmation we have of this matter, which consequently can no longer be said to be unknown; much less is it in our days to be extolled as a great and new invention, since by so doing, a man would only discover his ignorance in nautical history.

* This is partly ascertained by what *Weymouth* himself had already remarked. Speaking of the Coast of Labrador, he says, it is free from ice, but if any ice comes, it comes from the North. Consequently it must be brought through *Davis's Strait*.

When the mild weather begins to operate upon the islands of ice, upon the enormous masses of ice called mountains, they will sometimes fall to pieces. The breaking up of such a huge mass of ice is always accompanied with a very loud noise, similar to that of thunder. Two or three times in our voyage round the world we were very near one of these bursting mountains of ice, and consequently heard the noise made by it. But as the center of gravity in these pieces of ice is quite different from that of the entire mass, it frequently happens, that they roll over in the water several times before they come into the situation requisite to preserve their balance. One of these pieces rolling over in this manner, came so near our ship, that had it been 10 or 12 feet nearer, it would have hit her; in which case she would undoubtedly have been dashed to pieces, or at least very materially damaged. I must confess that this tremendous scene is still present to my imagination in all its horror, and will, I believe, never be erased from my memory. For surely a more dreadful situation cannot be conceived than to range about, imprisoned, as it were, in a solitary ship, between dreary masses of ice, on an immense ocean, many hundred miles distant from any land, and remote from all human assistance; and in this state, constantly surrounded by gloomy fogs, to be under continual apprehensions either of running foul of one of these glacial mountains, whilst under a press of sail, in consequence of which the ship must be inevitably dashed to pieces; or else, in case this enormous mass should burst, to behold its fragments (which however are larger than *Peter's* mountain in the *Saal* district) rolling about in the sea with unwieldy turbulence, approach the vessel with a tremendous noise, and perhaps suddenly plunge both it and the unfortunate crew to the bottom of the vast abyss.

With a fair wind, clear weather, and an open sea, it is tolerable sailing in these icy seas; but when once fogs, and cold-freezing vapours attach themselves every where to the sails and rigging, sometimes forming lumps of ice 8 or 12 ounces in weight, which are detached by the
least

least puff of wind, and fall on the heads of the sailors; when the sails and tackling become so stiff and brittle by the frost, as to break on the application of the smallest force; then the navigation in these parts becomes extremely disagreeable and dangerous. These were the circumstances which extorted complaints even from the intrepid *Weymouth*, and obstructed his progress in unknown seas covered with ice.

In those cold climates, too, *Weymouth* saw a water-spout, a phenomenon which Davis also had remarked before. This observation seems to be a confirmation of the remark which I formerly made in the observations on my voyage round the world, viz. that water-spouts are chiefly seen in narrow seas, where there is land at no great distance from each side of it.

XIV. The King of Denmark had been induced, by the fame of the discoveries made in the north by other powers, to give orders likewise for a voyage to be undertaken. The English being already at that time looked upon as the most experienced and by far the most skilful mariners in Europe, he had appointed in the year 1605 the English Captains *John Knight* and *James Hall*, to command the ships sent out upon this expedition. But in 1606, *Knight* was appointed in his own native country to conduct a similar voyage of discovery, by the *Russia* and *East-India Companies*. He set sail from *Gravesend*, and reached the *Orkneys* on the 26th of the same month, where he was obliged, by contrary winds, to lie for a fortnight. On the 12th of May he put to sea again. On the 16th he was in 58 deg. 19 min. N. lat. The variation of the compass was 8 deg. On the 21st he found himself in 57 deg. 50 min. N. lat. The weather was foggy, and there was a strong current that set to the northward. On the 22d he saw a great quantity of gulls, and rock-weed. On the 23d he observed an owl. On the 28th he was in 57 deg. 57 min. N. lat. and the variation of the needle was 14 deg. 30 min. to the west. There were black streaks in the sea-water, and also currents, some of which set to the

the north, others to the west. On the 29th he found the latitude to be 58 degrees, and the current now set to the southward. He saw a considerable number of white fowls, that made a chirping noise like sparrows. He also observed many dead cows (or rather crows) floating on the water. On the 13th of June he saw land, which appeared to him like islands, in 57 deg. 25 min. but there was a great quantity of ice driving to the southward. In fact, he proceeded as far into the ice as it was possible to do; but, in a storm which arose soon after, the ship suffered so much from the ice with which she was encompassed, that she had nearly been crushed to pieces. On the 19th he saw land again at 15 leagues distance, in 56 deg. 48 min. N. lat. where the needle varied 25 degrees to the west. The tide came from the northward. On the 24th a very high north wind snapped the rope in two by which the ship had been made fast to the land; and by the great quantity of large masses of ice that was collected here, the rudder was torn away. Capt. *Knight* therefore found himself obliged to enter an inlet, and run his ship a-ground, in hopes of saving at least their clothes, provisions, and furniture; but before she could be brought ashore she was half full of water. He then had the water pumped out, that they might be able at least to stop the leak. They begun also to set up the sloop, and to take their boat over the ice into the water, in order to seek for a more convenient spot for repairing the ship. They could not, however, meet with any such spot, as every thing was still covered with ice; nevertheless they found that there was wood growing on the land.—Thus far had Knight proceeded in the relation.—On the 26th he himself, with his pilot's mate, and three sailors, all well armed, went in the boat over to a large island, to seek for a convenient harbour to repair the ship in. He left two men in the boat, and went himself with three others, one of whom was his brother,

brother, to the upper part of the island. The two men that had been left in the boat, waited, but all in vain, from ten in the morning till eleven at night. One of them sounded the trumpet two or three times, and the other as often fired off his piece; but, hearing nothing of the Captain and his companions, they returned to the ship. The whole crew was seized with the utmost consternation, and they passed the night in anxiety and grief. The next day 7 men, well armed, went with an intent to search for their Captain and his companions, but they could not get to the ~~island~~ with their boat on account of the ice. They then cleared the ship, as they also did on the 28th, and at the same time kept the pump going briskly, with a view to find out the leak and stop it. The natives, however, came over the rocks to their boat and sloop, when the centinel gave the alarm, and, though very numerous, the savages were fortunately repulsed. The crew now carried the stores again on board, made haste to finish the sloop, and at length, with their leaky ship and the sloop, which was neither caulked nor payed, went away from that spot, rowing the ship along between the ice, though she had no rudder. Afterwards, out of two pickaxes they made two pintles to hang their rudder on. They kept the pump continually going, and taking their main bonnet, and, basting it with oakum, applied it on the outside of the ship under the keel, where the great leak was, which effectually prevented the water from rushing in as fast as it did at first; nevertheless they were obliged still to keep the pump going, and in this manner proceeded to Newfoundland, where they at length ran into a bay near *Fogo* on the 23d of July, repaired their ship, and rested themselves. From thence they set sail on the 22d of August, and landed on the 24th of September at *Dartmouth*.

This voyage took such an unfortunate turn, that though much was expected from *Knight's* professional abilities, as well as from his accuracy in making observations; yet all was frustrated by the unhappy death

death of this deserving man. It was probable the former cruelties of the Europeans to the *Eskimaux*, together with the great greediness of the latter after iron, that occasioned the death of the good Captain Knight, and animated the savages to attack the rest likewise. There is nothing else in this voyage worth remarking, but that the same current which had been seen before by so many, but which set to the northward, was also observed by *Knight*. The owl which he saw probably came from the *Faro* isles, as his course went pretty near them, though, on account of the fogs, he was not able to discern them.

XV. *James Hall* had already been out three years successively, viz. from 1605 to 1607, in the Danish service, on voyages of discovery in the northern parts, and in this last voyage, in consequence of the crew mutinying against him, was obliged to go to Iceland, without having seen any thing more than the coast of Greenland. This may perhaps have deterred him from going any more to the north in the Danish service. We find but very little related of this voyage, except that he set sail from *Kingston upon Hull*, with two ships, the one of which was called the *Patience*, and the other the *Heart's Ease*. The first thing mentioned is the observation he made, on the 19th of July, on the longitude of a place which he calls *Cocking Sound*, but which is in 65 deg. 20 min. N. lat. and is otherwise called *Baals Revier*, and, according to his reckoning, is 60 deg. 30 min. west long. from London. The next remark made is, that *Hall* was killed by a Greenlander with a spear on the 22d of July. Before this event happened, they never had any dispute with the natives, neither had they any afterwards; only these latter had been observed now and then to point at Hall, and mention him by the name of Captain, from which circumstance they conjectured, that the murderer must have been a brother or some relation of the five Greenlanders, who in the year 1606 had been carried off by the Danes. Before *Hall's* death they made a diligent search after
minerals,

minerals, and on this occasion had discovered several rivers and harbours, and had likewise seen the traces of a large stag or elk, as large as those of an ox. After his decease they resumed their search in the bowels of the earth, and found many places where the Danes had already dug before them: they found also stones with bright shining colours; but these, when they were brought to the test, yielded nothing but mere flags; for they contained no metal, but resembled *Glacies Mariæ*, or *Moscovy* talk.

As they could neither find any minerals, nor induce the inhabitants to carry on any further trade, they left *Rummels-Ford* (*Rommels-Fiord*) in 67 deg. N. lat. where the needle varied 24 deg. 16 min. and arrived the same day at *King's Foord* (*Kongs-Fiord*). They now shaped their course to the south, as another of the sailors had been killed by a Greenlander, in consequence of an attempt the sailor had made to pull him by force out of his boat. On the 18th of August they were in 58 deg. 50 min. N. lat. till the 6th of September they had continual storms. They were in 61 deg. 18 min. N. lat. the variation of the compass was 6 degrees eastward, and they had ground at 68 fathoms. On the 8th of September they reached the Orkneys, where they anchored, and procured from the inhabitants fowls, geese, and sheep, in exchange for old clothes and shoes; and on the 11th they made *Kingston upon Hull*.

William Baffin, who was but very young at the time, and who has written the account of this voyage, adds to it, that probably those glittering stones, of different colours, did not contain any metal. From this it should seem, that these stones were Labrador—or glimmering spar. Perhaps they are found here also; and nobody can give a better account of the matter than the Moravian brethren, who are resident in those parts. That there are mountains of white alabaster here we are assured by Baffin. At a place about 40 miles up the country there are said to be some trees; for near *Baals Rivier* they saw a little grove of trees not

more than six or seven feet high, consisting of willows, juniper, and other trees of this kind. They found also a great quantity of *angelica*; this perhaps was the *Heracleum Sphondylium*, or cow's parsnep; and it was supposed that the people used to eat the roots of it, as they were found in their boats.

A great number of foxes was seen here, some of which were quite white. There were also large animals of the stag kind here, (viz. reindeer) which had very large hoofs. The Greenlanders fish during the whole summer, and dry their fish and seal's flesh on the rocks for their winter provision. They have little boats, two feet broad, and sometimes 20 feet long, closely covered over with seal-skins, with a round hole in them, where the owner of the boat gets in, and envelops himself with skins, so that no water can get into the boat. Their oars have two blades, one on each end of them. They take hold of the oar in the middle, and work alternately with it on each side. They row so swiftly that no ship can keep pace with them. In these boats they catch seals, sea-horses, salmon, and other fish, which they pierce with a dart or harpoon. The point is made of bone, the line of whalebone. In summer they live in tents, in winter in houses, which are half underground. They do not live constantly on the same spot, but wander from place to place, just as it happens to be convenient for their fishing. They usually worship the sun. When any stranger comes towards them, they point up to the sun, and call aloud, *Ilyout*; and, if you extend your hand in the same manner to the sun, and pronounce the same word, they approach towards you, but otherwise they will not venture to come near. They bury their dead in a pit encompassed with stones, to prevent the foxes from eating them, and in another pit next to this they inter the bow, dart, arrows, and other utensils of the deceased. They eat raw flesh and drink sea-water, yet they are not cannibals. They are very desirous, however, to obtain iron by any means whatever.

From

From this account we have another instance to what lengths this people will carry their vengeance, as we find that they made a point of revenging the capture of their five countrymen on the Captain. Notwithstanding which another of the sailors was tempted to try to carry off another Greenlander, who, however, had courage and adroitness enough to punish with immediate death the man that attempted to deprive him of his liberty.

All the preceding observations of *Baffin* are excellent. There is one, however, upon which, with Crantz*, we find ourselves obliged to make some strictures; this is, that they worship the sun. The mariner sees the Greenlander, newly risen from his bed, go immediately out of his hut, and look stedfastly at the heavens and the rising sun, in order to know from them what weather he is to expect in the course of the day. Now this act is considered by the sailors as an adoration of the sun, a thing of which the Greenlander never had the least thought.

XVI. The idea of finding a passage to the Indies somewhere in the north, was, notwithstanding the fruitless attempts that had repeatedly been made, not yet given up; on the contrary, it was supposed to be an easy matter to discover it under the direction of a man of skill and resolution. The former enterprizes had been backed partly by Government, partly by the first people in the country, and partly likewise by merchants. But then, after a similar attempt, their zeal had soon abated again. It is true, the voyage of Capt. *James Lancaster*, in the years 1591, 1592, and 1593, to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, had indicated the possibility of the passage; but then it had likewise shewn the difficulties attending it. He sailed, too, a second time, in 1601, to the East-Indies, as Commander of a fleet belonging to the

* David Crantz's History of Greenland, Part I. Book IV. Chap. 5. § 35.

newly-established East-India Company, and returned in 1603 to England with great riches. Sir *Henry Middleton*, as also Sir *Edward Michelbourn*, returned safe in 1606 from the Indies to England, each of them with a very richly-laden fleet. From hence one would be apt to imagine that these successful expeditions to the Indies had entirely stifled the passion for making new attempts to find out a passage by the north. There was nevertheless a society of resolute and wealthy men found, who not only believed in the probability of the passage, but also were aware of the advantages that would result from it, and who, therefore, with a resolution, perseverance, and noble liberality, almost unexampled, furnished the money necessary for three expeditions. To the command of these expeditions they appointed *Henry Hudson*, a great and experienced seaman, whose knowledge, capacity, and intrepidity, are scarcely to be equalled, and who certainly, in unwearied assiduity, and unremitting labour, was surpassed by no one in those times. *Hudson's Journals*, and the names of the Gentlemen who employed him in these expeditions, have not been transmitted down to us; and upon the whole, what is come to our knowledge concerning his navigation, are only fragments. It was resolved to search for this passage by three different routes, either strait on by the north, or by the north-east, or by the north-west; and all these three voyages were actually performed by Hudson.

Hudson begun his first voyage in 1607, and set sail from *GraveSEND* on the 1st of May. On the 13th of June, in 73 deg. N. lat. he saw land, which he called *Hold with Hope*. This land is situated between 6 and 7 degrees to the north of Iceland, on the east side of Greenland. He had found the weather far colder in 63 deg. than he did here; for here it was quite mild and agreeable. On the 27th they were in lat. 78 deg. and still had mild or rather quite warm weather. On the 2d of July it was very cold, though they had not altered their latitude. On the 8th of July they were still in the same latitude of

78 deg. when they had calm weather, and an open sea, in which there was a great quantity of drift-wood floating. Whenever the sea appeared green, it was always a free and open sea ; but when it looked blue, it was generally covered with ice. On the 14th of July Hudson sent the mate of his ship and the boatswain on shore in 80 deg. 23 min. N. lat. They found the vestiges of reindeer, and saw some water-fowls, and also found two streams of very fresh water, of which, the weather being hot, they drank with great satisfaction. The sun remained even at midnight 10 deg. 40 min. above the horizon. Hudson sailed as far as 82 deg. N. lat. and would have proceeded still farther if he had not been prevented by the great quantity of mountains and fields of ice by which he was encompassed. This, however, did not deter him from making yet another trial, whether he could not find about the part where he had seen *Hold with Hope*, a way quite round *Greenland*, which he considered an island ; and then return home by *Davis's Straits*. But this passage was likewise obstructed by the ice, and he was obliged to sail back to England, where he arrived on the 15th of September at Gravesend.

By this voyage more of the eastern coast of Greenland was discovered to the northward than had been done in any former voyage. The great degree of warmth felt in the high northern latitudes appears to me to be owing merely to the lands situated so high up towards the north ; for in the southern hemisphere, in which in 30, 40, and 54 deg. S. lat. there is nothing to be seen but sea, the sea absorbs all the rays of the sun, which consequently are not able to produce any heat in the air ; for it is only those rays of the sun which are reflected from the earth, and its unequal surfaces, that cross each other in every direction, and thus produce heat in the air. It appeared therefore very strange to Hudson, that, in so high a latitude, he should meet with warmer weather than that which he had experienced in 63 deg. at sea. But he could not but know at the same time, that it is not from the vicinity

vicinity or presence of land alone, that we are able to form a conclusion respecting the warmth of the weather; for winds blowing over the ice, and through very cold regions, contract in their course a degree of cold, of which, without having experienced it, it is hardly possible to form any idea. Even beyond 73 deg. N. lat. between *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen*, he still met with drift-wood, which probably had been carried thither from out of the mouths of some Siberian or American rivers; a circumstance, however, of which we have not observed the least vestiges all over the sea situated near the South Pole, because there is no land in those parts, and nothing is to be seen but sea. The honour of the discovery of *Spitzbergen* consequently belongs to *Hudson*. The first who afterwards sailed thither on the whale fishery, were Englishmen. It was a long time ere the Dutch resolved upon going thither; however, they found so much profit arise from this expedition, that in the beginning of this century the Dutch and the *Hamburg* people were almost the only whale-fishers in the *Spitzbergen* seas. For at length the English sent no more than one ship thither every year, till the attention of Government was directed to it, when Parliament found it necessary to grant considerable premiums to the *Spitzbergen* (or, as they are improperly called, the *Greenland*) navigators and whale-fishers, by way of encouraging the English to pursue this business, which premiums are still continued in part every year. In the first years the English were so inexperienced in the whale-fishery, that though they fitted the ships out in England, yet they were obliged to let half of the respective crews be Dutchmen. *Spitzbergen*, cold as it is, nevertheless affords food for some reindeer, which, as this country is surrounded on all sides by the sea, must come to it over the frozen sea from *Greenland*, where these animals are also met with in very high latitudes. In these high northern latitudes the image of the sun continues, as is well known, from the Arctic Polar Circle onwards, during the whole of the 24 hours above the horizon; and the nearer we come to the Pole, the higher the

image of the sun appears above the horizon at midnight, and the lower it sinks at noon, till at last, just under the Pole, it continues the whole 24 hours at an almost equal height above the horizon. Hudson, with great intrepidity, endeavoured to approach the Pole, and indeed went as far as 82 deg. N. lat. and is without doubt the first who has advanced beyond 80 deg. to the northward. It is true, the ice prevented him from sailing any farther, notwithstanding he shaped his course once more towards Greenland, where he was in hopes to find a passage, and return by Davis's Straits; but the ice again obstructed his way. All this, however, evinces the intrepid spirit, unshaken fortitude, and courage of the man who was selected for this great enterprize.

XVII. Hudson having in vain sought for this passage directly by the north, the members of the Society at whose expence and under whose direction the first voyage had been undertaken, resolved to make another attempt the very next year, and *Hudson* was to have the command of this expedition likewise. He set sail on the 24th of April, 1608, and endeavoured to find the passage in the north-east, between *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*, discovered by him the preceding year; but here also he found insurmountable obstacles in the ice he met with. At the same time it is to be regretted that no narrative has been preserved to inform us how high a latitude Hudson sailed by this route. The result not answering his expectation, he sailed along the land of *Nova Zembla*, where he found the climate mild and agreeable, and the coast free from ice. He therefore thought it would be possible to find, on the furthest side of *Nova Zembla*, a passage, which till then navigators had in vain attempted to discover in the interior sea beyond *Waygatz Straits*; but here also he found so much ice in his progress, that he was obliged to abandon his design. Accordingly he made all possible

possible haste to search for this passage by *Lumley's Inlet*; but the season being already far advanced, the days beginning to shorten, and the weather growing cold and stormy, he was obliged to postpone this new attempt to another year. He hastened therefore to England, where he arrived safe on the 22d of August. This voyage, of which but few, and those very few imperfect accounts, are come to our knowledge, justly excites in us a wish that it were possible to find in any part of England the journal of this great navigator; for we cannot doubt that the observations made in the course of this attempt, though it did not succeed, must yet be extremely important and instructive to posterity with respect to physical geography.

XVIII. Before we begin the relation of Hudson's last remarkable voyage of discovery, we find it necessary to make a few remarks on several other undertakings of this nature. Already the Dutch had discovered, under the command of *William Barentz* and *Heemskerck*, a small island in 74 deg. 30 min. N. lat. to which, on account of a very large bear they had killed there, they gave the name of *Bear Island*. They then sailed to the N. N. W. and in about 80 deg. 11 min. N. lat. again discovered land, which proved an extensive country. They sailed along the west side of it as far as 79 deg. 30 min. and there found a bay. This extensive country was afterwards discovered by Hudson in 1607, and was called by the Dutch *Spitzbergen*, but by the English *Greenland*, because they looked upon it to be really a continuation of *Greenland*. In 1603 Sir *Francis Cherry*, an Englishman, sent a ship out, at his own expence, which in 74 deg. 55 min. N. lat. discovered an island, on which a tooth of the sea-horse (*Trichechus Rosmarus*) was found, as also lead ore. This island the sailors called *Cherry Island*, in honour of Sir *Francis Cherry*, and also took possession of

of it in his name. Now this was the same with *Bears Island* discovered in 1596 by *William Barentz*. In 1604 another ship set out for *Cherry Island*, the proprietor of which was a Mr. *Welden*, and *Stephen Bennet* the commander. They set sail on the 15th of April, arrived on the 1st of May at *Kola*, in *Lapland*, and remained there till the 1st of July, when they continued their voyage, and on the 8th made *Cherry Island*. The current was so strong, that they could not land; they therefore sailed round the whole Island, and anchored at the distance of two miles from the land. They then landed and shot so many birds, that they loaded their boat with them. On the 9th of July they saw a great number of foxes, or rather what the Russians call *Peszi*, viz. the arctic fox (*Canis Lagopus*). They found this part of the island to be in 74 deg. 45 min. N. lat. They then weighed anchor, and went on the 10th to another bay, where they found above 1000 sea-horses, lying in heaps one upon the other asleep, of which, however, they killed but 15. On the other hand they found as many teeth lying about as filled a whole hoghead. These were in all probability the remains of such of these animals as had died there of old age, or else had been devoured by the bears. Before the 13th they had killed more than 100 sea-horses, of which they used only the teeth.—In 1605 the same people went again with the same ship to this island, where they landed on the 2d of July. They killed a great number of sea-horses, which they now however used also for the purpose of making train-oil. Five sea-horses produce one tun of train-oil, and they filled 11 tuns. They discovered also a vein of lead, under a mountain, which they called *Mount Misery*, and they took above 30 tuns of the ore with them to England.—In 1606 the same people undertook with the same ship another voyage to *Cherry Island*, where they landed on the 3d of July, in 74 deg. 55 min. N. lat. They staid there till the ice was dissolved, as before that time the sea-horses do not go on shore. In

about six hours they killed 7 or 800 of them, and two white bears. From the sea-horses, they got 22 tuns of oil and filled three hogsheds with their teeth.—In 1608, they made another trip, when the weather was so hot on the 21st of June, that the pitch melted, and ran down the sides of the ship. In the space of 7 hours they killed more than 900 sea-horses, which yielded them 31 tuns of train-oil. They took two young sea-horses alive along with them, the female died on the voyage, but the male lived ten weeks after their arrival in England, where he had been taught several tricks.—In 1609 a ship, called the *Amity*, fitted out by Sir *Thomas Smith*, and the Russia Company, and commanded by *Jonas Poole*, went on a voyage to *Cherry Island*, as also to make discoveries towards the North Pole. *Poole* set sail from *Blackwall*, near London, on the 1st of March, and, after enduring very severe cold and stormy weather, discovered the southern part of *Spitzbergen* on the 16th of May. He sailed along the coast, took the soundings as he went on, gave a name to every point of land, and to every bay he met with, and made some very exact and excellent observations for the benefit of navigation. On the 26th of May he was off *Fair Foreland*, a point of land which stands on the west side of *Spitzbergen*, on the island called *Foreland*, or *Voorland*. By the Dutch this point is called *Vogel-boek*. He sent his mate on shore, from whom he learned that all the ponds and lakes were unfrozen, which induced him to expect a mild summer; and as the sun had so much power here, he judged that a passage was as likely to be found in this place as any where else, it being far less cold here than he had found it to be in 73 deg. N. lat. In the mean time, having made two useless attempts to get beyond 79 deg. 50 min. N. lat. the ice obliged him to turn back again and look out for fish, in order to pay the expence of the voyage. On the last day of August he arrived safe at London. In this voyage *Poole* and his people were in great danger from the sea-horses; and one of his people was surrounded in the water by these creatures, which

wounded him very dangerously in the thigh, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that he was saved from destruction. This animal, which bears a great affinity to the seal kind, is very much sought after for its teeth, which are used for the same purposes as ivory, for its fat, which yields train-oil, and for its very thick skin which is covered with a yellowish hair. These creatures live in large families together, on crustaceous animals, fish, grass, and rock-weed. Formerly, when they were not so much sought after and killed, it was an easy matter to come near them, while they were sleeping on shore by the hundreds together; but at present they are become very shy in consequence of the eagerness and fury with which they are killed, persecuted, and destroyed, with spears, by the human race. They are rarely seen on the land, and in case they are there, they do not go far from the shore, and always take care to place one of their number on the watch by way of sentinel, or else they will lay themselves down to sleep on a small flat piece of ice. If the spot where they lie on shore is very steep, they are used, when attacked, to put their hind legs between their two long projecting tusks, and, with great force and velocity, roll over into the sea. They bring forth one, or, at the most, two live young ones at a time. When they are closely beset, and in danger, or find that they are wounded, they grow very furious, and endeavour to do mischief both to the boats and men with their long tusks. They have also more courage in the water than they have on shore. In 1610 the Russia Company again sent two ships out, which killed some white bears on *Cherry Island*, and likewise took two young ones with them to England: they also killed many seals, and shot a great number of birds. On the 15th of June they hoisted a flag, and took possession of the island in the name of the Company. On *Gull* island they discovered three veins of lead ore, and in the northern part of it,

a coal-pit. Three other ships came also to the island in order to fish, and killed more than 800 sea-horses. At length *Poole* was sent out again in 1611. He staid in *Crossroad*, off Spitzbergen, till the 16th of June, on account of the ice and the badness of the weather. After this he sailed 14 leagues to W. by N. and fell in with a field of ice. From thence as far as to 80 degrees the ice lay close to the land; but the strong currents deterred him from venturing in between the ice; he therefore stood to the southward, hoping by this means to get to the westward of it, but found it lie the next hand, S. W. and S. W. and by S. and ranged along it 120 leagues. Near the ice he could get no ground with 160, 180, and 200 fathoms. He therefore returned to Spitzbergen to follow the whale fishery, but had the misfortune to lose the ship.

All these voyages to *Cherry Island*, had been undertaken chiefly with a view to the killing of sea-horses. This place has been often mistaken for *Jan Mayen's* island; but it materially differs from that, as well in latitude and longitude, as also in shape; for *Cherry Island* is nearly square, and *Jan Mayen's* island is long and narrow. In *Cherry Island* the English have found many veins of lead, and in more modern times the Russians have also discovered virgin silver, of which I have myself seen some very fine specimens of a dendritic form*, as also others in the form of Octaedrous crystals. Besides this, coal-pits are said to be found here. This island consequently seems to abound in all sorts of useful minerals. But nobody has yet obliged the public with the mineralogy of it. The sea-horses and whales which formerly were found here in such great abundance, have been much diminished in their numbers by the chase of them, they having at length retired to some other parts less frequented by men.

XIX. *Henry Hudson* had made a voyage to America in 1609, where he had discovered *Hudson's River*, and, after having traded somewhat

* See also on this subject Georgi's Edition of Brunnich's Mineralogy, pag. 201.

farther

farther still, was returned home. He had undertaken this voyage in behalf of the Dutch. He offered to undertake another voyage, which they however refused, and in consequence of this, finding himself released from his engagements, he entered again into the service of the English Company, which had already employed him in two former voyages; and *Hudson* set sail from *Blackwall*, near London, on the 17th of April, 1610. The Company which had joined in fitting out the ships for this expedition had made it a clause, that *Hudson* should take with him, by way of assistant, one *Coleburne* (Fox calls him *Coolbrand*) a very experienced and able seaman: Fox says, that he was preferable to *Hudson* in every respect. But this great confidence of the owners in *Coleburne's* skill excited *Hudson's* envy: accordingly he sent him from *Lee* on the river *Thames* to London with a letter to the Proprietors, in which he alledged his reasons for having taken this step. All those who have given an account of the voyage, assert that this rash step of *Hudson* was in part the source of his own misfortunes, and had set his crew an example of disobedience to the commands of their superiors, and of the neglect of that consideration and respect which is due from every one to his Commander. On the 15th of May he had got as far as the Orkneys and the northern end of Scotland, which he found to be in 59 deg. 23 min. N. lat. On the 8th he saw the *Faro* Islands, in 62 deg. 24 min. On the 11th he came to the east side of Iceland, and sailed along its southern coast, till he reached the western coast of it. It must have been somewhere thereabouts that he put into a harbour, where he met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants, but also at the same time had the misfortune to find great dissensions amongst his crew, which he could not appease without great difficulty. On the 1st of June *Hudson* sailed farther to the west, in 66 deg. 34 min. N. lat. On the 4th he saw Greenland very clearly over the ice that lay before it. He now kept along the coast, which was every where sur-

rounded with ice. On the 9th he was off Frobisher's Straits. On the 15th he descried the Land of *Desolation* in 59 deg. 27 min. N. lat. He sailed to the north-west, to 60 deg. 42 min. The current set to the N. W. On the 23d he came in sight of a great quantity of ice, in 62 deg. 19 min. On the 25th he saw land to the northward, and kept still sailing to the westward in 62 deg. 19 min. But now he plying to the southward, in hopes of finding the coast on that side. In 62 deg. 16 min. he had still a great quantity of ice before him. On the 8th of July he left the shore again, and saw extending from the N. W. by W. quite to the S. W. by W. a champaign land covered with snow, and named it *Desire provoked*. He continued still plying to the westward, and, on the 11th, being apprehensive of a storm, anchored behind three very rocky islands, in a very uneven ground, and found it but an indifferent harbour at high water; he had passed over rocks, one of which was the next morning two fathoms above water, for the tide rose here above four fathoms. It came from the north, The latitude was 62 deg. 9 min. and this harbour, in which were the islands called by him the *Islands of God's Mercy*, seems to lay close by the large island of *Good Fortune*, to the north of *Hudson's Straits*, in 308, or 309 deg. E. long. from *Ferro*. On the 19th he found that he was in 61 deg. 24 min. and saw in the land to the southward a bay, to which in a former voyage he had given the name of *Hold with Hope*. Till the 21st he plying to the northward, and found the sea more grown than he had seen it since his departure from England. On the 23d the height of the Pole was 61 deg. 33 min. On the 25th he saw land to the south (viz. the Coast of *Labrador*) which he named *Magna Britannia*. On the 26th he found the latitude to be 62 deg. 44 min. On the 2d of August he discovered a high promontory to which he gave the name of *Salisbury's Foreland*. He then sailed 14 leagues farther W, S. W. and at about midway found the sea full of whirlpools and currents,

currents. Having sailed seven leagues more, he found himself at the entrance of a strait, not above two leagues broad, and which was at the distance of 250 leagues from the northernmost side of Davis's Straits. On the 3d he passed through these straits, and named the cape on the right hand, or starboard side, *Cape Diggs*, and that on the left, or larboard side, *Cape Wolstenholm*. Some of his people having been sent on shore, observed the tide to rise to 5 fathoms, and that it came from the North. Having sailed through the straits, he observed, that the land trended to the southward, and that there was a wide sea to the westward.

This is all that is to be found of Hudson's narrative; the rest must be sought in the narrative of a seaman, named *Habakuk Pricket*, who was in the service of Sir *Dudley Diggs*. Amongst other things he mentions, that when Hudson was near the *Land of Desolation*, they met with a great number of whales, some of which swam along-side the ship, while others passed under her without touching her. After this, while Hudson was still in Davis's Straits, between a great quantity of ice, he saw a large mountain of ice overturn, which served them as a warning not to go near these high masses of ice. It seems *Pricket* was ignorant of the real cause of this overturning of the ice-mountain, which, in fact, lies in their bursting asunder. Near *Desire-provoked* they saw mountains of ice a-ground in six or seven score fathom water. On the island of *God's Mercy* Pricket sprung a covey of partridges, but killed only the old one. The whole country was barren and gloomy, having nothing on it but patches of water and riven rocks, as if it were subject to earthquakes. They also found some drift-wood lying ashore here. Then they came again amongst a great quantity of ice, and seeing at length on the south side of the straits, land, with high promontories, he called the first *Prince Henry's Cape*, that with two hills, which was farther to the west, but on the south side, was named *King James's Cape*; but towards the north
were

were some islands which he called *Queen Anne's Foreland*. All these lay to the northward in a bay, in which there appeared to be a great deal of broken land, lying quite close to the main land. At length, after a storm, they saw another mountainous part to the northward, which they named *Mount Charles*, or *Cape Charles*. To the westward was more broken land, forming a bay, in which possibly a good road might be found for ships, and the promontory here was named *Cape Salisbury*. Between the main land to the southward and an island was a strait with a strong current; the two promontories enclosing it were called *Cape Diggs* and *Cape Wolfenholm*. On Diggs's island they found a herd of animals of the stag kind (viz. reindeer) but could not get within a musket-shot of them. From this part forward we have only *Pricket's* relation to guide us. They sailed southward, and had the land to the eastward of them. After a run of about 20 or 30 leagues, the sea grew shallow, and they got among rocks and broken land, and the sea grew still shallower and shallower, so that they were obliged to anchor in 15 fathoms. Not long after, they weighed, and stood to the south-east along the land, till they had land on both sides. They then stood again into a large sea, but at length found it to be only a bay, and here they took in water and ballast. In 53 deg. N. lat. was an island. Various remarks having been made by the crew on occasion of Hudson's entering the bay and going out of it again, he displaced the mate of the ship, *Robert Ivet*, as well as the boatswain, and appointed *Robert Bylot* to be mate, and *William Wilson* to be boatswain. At length, on Michaelmas-Day, they stood in among a cluster of islands, and called the place *Michaelmas Bay*. They anchored in very shallow water; but in weighing again, they lost the anchor, but fortunately saved the cable. In the dark they ran a-ground upon
a rock.

a rock. The tide carried them however off from it again without their having received any damage; and after failing to and fro for a long time, Hudson resolved to anchor in the bay where he then was, and spend the winter there, it being already the latter end of October. Having found out a fit place, they secured the ship by running her aground, and here she was frozen in, ten days afterwards. Hudson now thought of husbanding their provisions, for he had only taken with him victuals for six months, though he might have taken more. He sought however only to stretch out their provisions till the spring, when he might go to *Cape Diggs*, where the sea-fowl bred. In the mean time he proposed rewards to those that killed either beast, fish, or fowl. In the middle of November died the gunner, in consequence, as it is here insinuated, of the hard and unkind treatment he had met with from Hudson. Hudson had in London taken into his house a young man, named *Henry Green*, of a respectable family, but who had lost the affection of all his friends and relations by his ill behaviour and extravagance, and had spent all that he had. By the assistance of a friend, Hudson had procured him four guineas from his mother, to buy clothes with. This young man he had taken along with him, without the knowledge of his owners; and he had already been guilty of several misdemeanors; for at Harwich he had attempted to desert with a sailor, and in Iceland he had severely beat the ship's surgeon. Hudson had, however, always taken his part. Now the season being far advanced, and the ground covered with ice and snow, Hudson requested the carpenter to build the house for them to winter in; but the carpenter refused to do it, on the pretence that he was not a house-carpenter, but a ship-carpenter, and that Hudson had not given orders for the building of the house till the snow and frost had set in. In the course of this quarrel,

X x

Hudson

Hudson was so much provoked as to beat the carpenter ; and this latter now being about to begin upon the work, and wanting a companion, and at the same time positive orders having been given that nobody should go any where by himself, on account of its being unsafe, *Green* accompanied him. This circumstance made a wide breach between Hudson and the young man, who from that time forward took every opportunity of lessening the former in the esteem of every one in the ship, and alienating their hearts from him, as well as of laying the foundation to the ungrateful and cruel behaviour he afterwards experienced from them. During the whole winter they had such abundance of ptarmigans, that of these and other sorts of grouse, they killed above a hundred dozen. In the spring, when these birds left them, they were replaced by swans, wild-geese, ducks, and teal, which, however, were more difficult to come at, because they did not stay there to breed, as it was expected they would do ; but as fast as they came from the south, proceeded to the north, so that in a short time there were none at all to be seen. And now the great scarcity began ; they eat moss, and the frogs which were beginning to couple. *Thomas Woodhouse*, a young man who had gone out with them as a volunteer, and who had studied the mathematics, brought them branches and buds of a tree, which were full of a substance like turpentine ; these the surgeon boiled, and made a diet drink for them, and the boiled buds were applied hot, by way of poultice, to such as had pains in their limbs, who also found an immediate relief from the application. I imagine that these buds were from the *Tacamabaca* Tree (*populus balsamifera*) the buds of which are very adhesive, in consequence of their containing a glutinous resin, like turpentine, of which they have also the smell. The decoction was certainly a very powerful antiscorbutic remedy, and the warm application of the boiled buds served to relieve the pains and swellings of their limbs, which were rendered sore and painful by scurvy and rheumatism. But, in fact, the young shoots, or (as they are called
in

in America) the buds of the spruce fir (*Pinus Mariana* & *Pinus Canadensis*) are also a remedy against the scurvy. A native paid them a visit, to whom they gave a knife and some other trifles, in return for which he brought them some beaver-furs and deer-skins; he also promised to come to them again, but never appeared afterwards. They caught some fish, and got the ship ready for their departure, after Hudson had, with tears in his eyes, distributed all the remaining provisions in equal shares. Immediately after the departure of the ship, *Green*, together with some others, and in particular *Wilson*, *Michael Pierce*, and the discarded mate, *Ivet*, mutined. They put *Henry Hudson*, together with his son, *John Hudson*, who was but a boy, *Woodhouse*, the mathematician, *Philip Stoffe*, the ship's carpenter, and five more sailors, in all nine persons, into the sloop, to whom they only gave one gun, some spears, with a very small stock of provisions, and then abandoned them to their fate, with a want of feeling hardly to be equalled. Those who remained in the ship sailed along the eastern coast. They landed often, and not being able to catch any fish, they gathered a herb they called *Cockle-grass* (which it may be presumed was a kind of tang, or rock-weed, perhaps the *Fucus Saccharinus*) and without which they must unavoidably have perished. At length they reached the strait and the capes, where they saw the birds brooding on their nests, and killed a great number of them; but here they ran a-ground upon a rock, on which they were obliged to remain eight or nine hours; for they ran upon it during the ebb, which came from the east, as the tide of flood did from the west. As soon as they were afloat again, they pursued their course, and endeavoured to get some fowl near *Cape Diggs*. Here they saw seven boats filled with the natives, with whom they made friends. But shortly after, they were attacked by these savages, who killed *Green*, and wounded the others so desperately, that three more of them, chiefly the ringleaders in the mutiny, and those the stoutest men in the ship, died in a day or two after. Now *Bylot*

became their leader. They killed 300 more sea-birds, and being driven back by the wind, they killed 100 more. At length they proceeded farther, but were driven to such straits for want of food, that they were obliged, after singeing off the feathers, to eat the skins which they had torn off from the sea-fowls, as also their entrails. At first they attempted to go to Newfoundland, but were prevented by a S. W. wind, and shaped their course for Ireland. Their distress encreasing, they took the bones of the birds which they had eaten, fried them in tallow, poured some vinegar on them, and eat them as a great dainty. Just at the time when they had lost all hopes of reaching Ireland, *Robert Ivet* died. They had put their last fowl in the steeping-tub, and were at the end of their provisions, when they descried Ireland. Here they with great difficulty obtained some provisions, and arrived at last, by the way of *Phymouth* and *Gravesend*, in London.

This voyage, notwithstanding all the important discoveries made in the course of it, cost poor Hudson and the few people who were with him, their lives. Never perhaps was the heart of man possessed by ingratitude of a blacker die, than that of the infamous villain *Green*. Hudson had saved this wretch from perdition, had cherished him with the utmost kindness in his own house, and had but with too much weakness taken his part, even then when he had been guilty of the greatest misdemeanors; notwithstanding which, this outcast of society had the wickedness to stir up the rest of the crew against their commander, and to expose his benefactor and second father, without clothes and arms, and without provisions, in a small boat, to the open sea, in an inhospitable climate, where none but savage beasts, and still more savage men, dwelt; and where, during the greatest part of the year, all is covered with snow and ice. It is scarcely to be believed, yet it is certainly true, that the foundation of all this lay in the bad constitution of the laws with respect to navigation and seamen. It is scarcely 40 years since an act was passed, by which the seamen belonging to the royal navy who should refuse to obey their officers orders, after suffering shipwreck, were made liable to be punished; and, even now, it is only

the officers of the royal navy who have the privilege of punishing such as have committed any misdemeanor, or have been guilty of any infraction of the articles of war. On board the merchantmen, and even on board the ships belonging to the East-India Company, neither the Captains nor any of the mates have power to punish any individual; if they do, the seaman at their return may lodge a complaint against them, and demand satisfaction; which satisfaction indeed is seldom refused, as it is well known that the power usurped by these gentlemen but too often exceeds the proper limits. Self-interest, and the fear of having the whole or part of their pay struck off, in case of their refusal to do their respective duties, are the only ties by which the crew are bound to obey the Captain's orders; and hence it is that we so frequently hear of a ship's crew rising against their Captain, and either killing him or putting him on shore somewhere, and running away with the vessel. New voyages of discovery would have been often undertaken at the expence of private individuals, but the fear of the crew's mutinying, and by this means interrupting the progress of the discovery, has in these days proved an obstacle to every undertaking of this kind; for this reason, at present none but men of war can be employed in these expeditions. Mr. *Alexander Dalrymple*, a very able navigator, and whose zeal for making discoveries is equal to his resolution and courage, would have long ago collected amongst his friends as much as would be requisite for undertaking a voyage of discovery; and to this end petitioned Government to extend the laws respecting the regulation of the royal navy, only to the ship in which he was going; but met with a refusal. The cruel behaviour of *Green* and his accomplices towards *Hudson* did not, however, remain long unpunished. The faithless *Eskimaux* killed him and his chief assistants in iniquity; and the others suffered such great hardships, and were driven to such dreadful straits, that humanity shudders at the idea*.

* The author has been grossly deceived with respect to this anecdote, which has not even the shadow of truth; and is only inserted here to be contradicted. [E. T.]

Hudson found the eastern coast of Greenland covered all over with ice, in the same manner as it is still found to be at present. The dreadful oversetting of the mountains of ice has also been observed by Hudson's continuator, *Pricket*. By the great quantity of ice accumulated in *Davis's Straits*, Hudson was obliged to go to the westward, and consequently, without intending it, to make the discovery of the strait and bay called after his name. What by men is often termed chance, is, without doubt, under the direction of infinite power and wisdom, which is but too often mistaken by short-sighted mortals. At *Cape Diggs* they found reindeer, *forrel*, and *scurvy-grass* (*Cochlearia officinalis*) both of which herbs are excellent remedies against the sea scurvy, whence the latter has taken the name it bears in English. It struck me very much, in my voyage round the world, to find that the shores of all the countries which we visited were abundantly furnished with herbs, which are antidotes to the scurvy. In the Tropical islands we found wood-forrel (*Oxalis*) pepperwort (*Lepidium oleraceum* & *piscidium*) and a new species of ladies-smock (*Cardamine sarmentosa*); and at New Zealand and Tierra del Fuego, a species of wall-creffe (*Arabis heterophylla*) and celery (*Apium decumbens*). It would seem as if Providence had intentionally distributed on these spots, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the sea-coast, and of the people returning from long voyages, such plants as might be serviceable in mitigating the dreadful symptoms and effects of the scurvy. Neither has the afflicted mariner far to go after them, as, almost the first step he takes on shore, he finds under his feet those wholesome plants, so well adapted to his wants. But is it possible to mistake this invariable order of nature in the production of them for mere chance? and can the determination of the spots where these plants chiefly grow, have been left to a mere accident? And if, in answer to this, it be said, that this soil and situation, are best adapted to the growth and en-crease

crease of these plants, and that other animals eat them as well as men ; I must then take the liberty to ask again ; but who is it that has connected this circumstance of their being so singularly antiscorbutic, with the particular spot where they grow, and with that other circumstance of their thriving the best near the sea shore ? If it be mere accident, what is the reason then that it takes place not in one country only, but every where alike ? And does it follow that mankind is excluded from making use of these plants, because animals are fond of them ? or, indeed, is it not rather a proof of superior wisdom, when different effects are accomplished by the intervention of one and the same cause ? Certainly, to misconceive the intentions of this supreme wisdom, this more than fatherly kindness, in this admirable regulation of the works of nature, is nothing less than to degrade the intellective faculty of man, his noblest prerogative, and reduce him to a level with the stupid and senseless brutes ! Should, however, after all that has been said, some sceptical miscreants still insist upon this topic, we can only say, that we do not in the least envy them their boasted enlarged ideas and philosophy.

It is really inconceivable what an astonishing quantity of different kind of grouse there is every year caught and eaten in the factories of the Hudson's Bay Company. Of ptarmigans alone they kill more than 10,000. While Hudson's Bay was in the hands of the French, from the year 1697 to 1714, a French Governor at *Fort Bourbon*, together with his garrison, consisting of 80 men, eat in one winter 90,000 spotted grouse and ptarmigans, and 25,000 hares. To the above account must be added in the spring, the immense number of swans, geese, and ducks, which are eaten there ; besides which, they catch a great many reindeer. It is therefore astonishing, that Hudson, who used to act with so much prudence and forecast in every thing, should not have taken care to have preserved out of the hundred dozen
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of ptarmigans which they caught in the winter, at least some few dozen for a store of provision in the spring, and on the voyage. But probably the mutiny of his crew was the cause of this neglect.

The villains, who behaved with so much cruelty to Hudson, bound themselves to this atrocious wickedness and inhuman deed, as though it had been a laudable, beneficent act, by an oath, which, according to the English custom, they took on the Bible. In fact, they swore that every thing they were going to undertake, *should be to the glory of God, and harm to no man*; which, however, was a most horrid abuse of a sacred act of religion, and the most shameful piece of hypocrisy that it is possible to conceive.

XX. The account of *Habakuk Pricket*, that when Hudson's ship had struck upon a rock near *Diggs's Island*, she had been heaved off again by a *high* tide coming from the *westward*, excited new hopes in the Society which had planned the former voyages, that still, in some part of the western coast of Hudson's Bay, there must be a strait, through which this tide could come from the west; for if this part of the sea discovered by Hudson was a mere bay, the tide must needs come into it from the east or the entrance: now, supposing the tide to come from the east, it must needs diminish in height in proportion as it advanced farther into the bay; but here it was exactly the contrary, for it happened to be lower at the entrance than farther into it; and therefore it was highly probable, that this westerly and higher tide actually proceeded from a sea which had no connection with the mouth of Hudson's straits. Besides, humanity seemed to demand, that in case the unfortunate Captain Hudson and his companions should happen to be still alive, they should be rescued from the dreadful state of misery into which they had been plunged by the most hardened of villains. Accordingly they fitted out two ships for this expedition, the one of which

which was named the *Resolution*, and the other the *Discovery* *. Capt. *Thomas Button*, a very experienced navigator, whom the King afterwards created a Knight on account of some services he had done to the crown, and who was then in the service of *Prince Henry*, was elected commander of the whole expedition, and the command of the *Discovery* was given to Capt. *Ingram*. Besides this gentleman, Button took with him several other very skilful men. His first mate in the *Resolution* was *Nelson*, a man of great experience and knowledge: and it was after this person that he named the river where he wintered, *Nelson's River*. Moreover, he had two gentlemen with him, of whose knowledge and experience we must, even from Button's own testimony, form a very high idea. The one was his relation and favourite, by name *Gibbons*; and the other was Capt. *Hawkridge*. The name of his mate was *Josiah Hubbart*, a man possessed of very just conceptions of such an undertaking, and of the probability of a passage. Finally, he was also accompanied by *Habakuk Pricket*, who had made the last voyage with the unfortunate *Hudson*. They were victualled for 12 months, and set sail in the beginning of May 1612. They shaped their course to the westward, and arrived off *Hudson's Straits*, which they entered to the south of the *Resolution Islands*, and for some time were blocked up in the ice. At length they came to *Diggs's Island*, where they staid eight days, and in that time set up a pinnacle they had brought with them in pieces from England. After this, they went farther to the westward, where they saw land, to which they gave the name of *Carey's Swans Nest*. From thence they proceeded to the southward of the west, and came in 60 deg. 40 min. N. lat. again to a

* It is very remarkable, that in the last voyage of discovery, undertaken by the glorious and unfortunate Capt. *Cook* to the South Sea and the northern parts between Asia and America, these were likewise the names of the ships employed on that expedition.

land, which on this account was called *Hopes checked by Button*. Here they were overtaken by a terrible storm, so that they were obliged, on the 13th of August, to put into a harbour, to repair the damages done to the ships. But immediately after, the dreadful winter set in, and *Button* was obliged to winter there in 57 deg. 10 min. N. lat. in a small creek on the north side of a river, which he named *Port Nelson*, after his deceased first mate. He secured both the ships, as well as he could, against storms, ice and the tides, with piles of deal driven into the ground, and a mound of earth. They wintered in the ships, keeping three fires constantly; notwithstanding which many of his people died, though he took the greatest care of them; and they consumed 1800 dozen = 21,600 ptarmigans and wood-grouse. *Button* himself was indisposed during the first three or four months of the winter. The river *Nelson* was not frozen over till the 16th of February, although at times it had been very cold; yet the mild winds immediately following upon the cold weather, had brought on a thaw. *Button* had observed, that in former voyages, inactivity and the want of employment had but too often been the occasion of discontent, murmurings, and secret confederacies in the crew against their superiors in command; he resolved, therefore, to prevent this by allotting to every one his task, and even to the best of them he gave employments suitable to their stations and capacities; for of some he enquired, what was to be done in case the water should happen to be spent in their present place of abode? and in what manner they had best proceed in the discovery, which was the end of their present voyage? Others he enjoined to give him in writing an exact calculation of their voyage till then, with the mutual distances of each place, the ship's course, the latitude and longitude, the variation of the compass, the different soundings, together with other observations on wind and weather, the tides, &c. so that nobody could find leisure from idleness and want of employment for such dangerous associations. The ice began to clear out of *Nelson's*

River so early as on the 21st of April, but it was not till two months after, that they set out again with a view of exploring the whole western coast of the bay, which he called, after his own name, *Button's Bay*. The neighbouring land was named *New Wales*. In the 60th degree they found a strong current, setting sometimes to the east, and at other times to the west. This circumstance induced *Hubbart* to name this part in his map, *Hubbart's Hope*. The highest latitude to which *Button's* researches extended, was about 65 deg. The observations which he had an opportunity to make there on the tide-flux were such as not to leave him the least doubt of the possibility of a northern passage. Some islands, lying to the south-east from *Carey's Swan's Nest*, he named *Mansel's* (Mansfield's) Islands. On the west side of the land called *Carey's Swan's Nest*, he came to a kind of a bay, which he called *Non plus ultra*. The southernmost point of the land was *Cape Southampton*; and on the east side of the land was a promontory to which he gave the name of *Cape Pembroke*. He reckoned 10 leagues from this cape to *Mansel's* (Mansfield's) Islands. Between *Cape Cbildley* and the coast of *Labrador* they found another strait, through which they sailed, and from thence, in 16 days, arrived in England, in the autumn of 1613.

It is a great pity that *Button* never published his Journal; for, from all the dispersed and unconnected accounts now remaining, we learn no more than that this Journal really contained some very important observations on the tides, and other objects of natural philosophy. The great quantity of ptarmigans and grouse there is in those regions is very evident, from the circumstance of *Button* and his people having eaten 1800 dozen of them.

XXI. The same Society which had promoted *Button's* and so many former voyages, in the year 1614, sent on the same errand Capt. *Gibbons*, the kinsman and friend of *Button*, in the *Discovery*, the very same ship in which *Button* had made his voyage of discovery. But, he was

scarcely arrived at the mouth of *Hudson's Straits*, when a large quantity of ice quite encompassed him, and carried him by means of the current and the winds, into a bay on the coast of *Labrador*, in $58\frac{1}{2}$ deg. N. lat. which his people on this account named *Gibbons's Hole*. Here he was obliged to lie for the space of 10 weeks, in the greatest danger all the time of losing his ship and his life. Being at length freed from this danger, he immediately set sail for England, partly because the ship had been very much damaged by the ice; and partly also, because the season was too far advanced for going upon any fresh enterprizes in those cold regions. *Fox* calls the land where the bay lay, *Stinenia*, an appellation for which I can give no reason*. It was, without doubt, the coast of Labrador; and *Gibbons's Hole* is nearly on the same spot with the colony of the Moravian brethren, to which they have given the name of *Nain*.

XXII. The same year, 1614, *Fotherby* and *Baffin* were sent out with a single ship on a voyage of discovery in the north, and that probably by the Russia Company. With great difficulty, and after several fruitless essays made with the ship, they succeeded, however, at length, in getting with their boats to the firm ice, which enclosed *Red Beach*. This forms the north-east point of *Spitzbergen*, and is situated on what is called the *Deer Field* (or *Rennen Felde*). The *Moffen Island* lies to the north-east of *Red Beach*. To this *Red Beach* they went on foot over the ice, in hopes of being lucky enough to find some whale-bones there; they were, however, for once deceived in their expectation. *Fotherby* adds, "Thus, as we could not find that which we desired to see, so did we behold that which we wished had not been there to be seen, viz. a great abundance of ice, which lay close to the shore, and stretched out in the sea as far

* In the Table of Errata annexed to *Fox's* book, the word *Stinenia* is changed for *America*: but this and several other errors (which are here corrected) succeeding writers, and with them *Dr. Forster*, have been led into by *Fox's* having absurdly placed that table in the middle of this Book.

as we could discern." On the 1st of August they sailed from *Fair Haven* (a place situated between *Hakluyt's Headland*, which is likewise called *Amsterdamer Island*, and the island of *Vogelsang*, lying off the north west point of *Spitzbergen*), with a view to try whether the ice would admit them to pass towards the north or north-east. They sailed from *Cape Barren*, or *Vogelsang*, N. east by east, eight leagues, when they met with ice, lying east by south, and west by north. On the 15th of August they found the ice in the sea, which was frozen as thick as a half crown piece.

This very short account of another attempt to seek for a passage in the north, by *Spitzbergen*, is a fresh proof of the great exertions made to discover this passage to India. Those also who have hitherto believed, with *M. de Buffon* and *Mr. Daines Barrington*, that sea-water could not freeze, will here find a fresh proof to the contrary: for if even in the summer season, six weeks after the summer solstice, it freezes in one night as thick as a half crown piece, how hard must not the sea be frozen during the severe cold of the long winters in these parts?

XXIII. In 1615 *Fotherby* was again sent out to the north, in the pinnace *Richard*, by the Russia Company. He could not get farther this than in the preceding year, on account of the ice. On this occasion he refers to a chart, in which he had laid down what was already known and discovered in the space comprized between 80 and 71 deg. N. lat. and within 26 deg. W. long. from *Hakluyt's Headland* (reckoning westward). For his part, he says, he could have wished to have been able to advance farther than he did, but the ice always prevented him from so doing; however there was still a large space of sea between *Greenland* and *King James's Newland* (which is also called *Spitzbergen*) where perhaps a passage might be possible, though this sea be much obstructed with ice. Since this attempt the English Russia Company

Company seems not to have concerned itself any farther with making discoveries in the north.

XXIV. The same merchants who had supported the former enterprises with so much ardour, and at so great an expence, were still buoyed up with the hope that at length they should succeed in discovering this passage. Accordingly, in 1615, they sent out the *Discovery*, which had already been on the voyages of discovery made under the respective commands of *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Gibbons*, now, for the 4th time, and for the same purpose, under the command of *Robert Bylot* or, (as *Purchas* calls him) *Byleth*. *Bylot*, too, had been each time in the ship now entrusted to his care, with *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Gibbons*. He had with him in the capacity of mate, *William Baffin*, who had made the voyage with *Hall* in 1608, and had been out afterwards with *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Fotherby*, and consequently had acquired great experience, as well as very just conceptions of the nature of those regions, and of the voyages that might be undertaken to those parts. *Bylot* set sail on the 18th of April; on the 6th of May he saw *Greenland* on the east side of *Cape Farewell*. Shortly after he fell in with a great quantity of ice. *Baffin* saw a mass of ice, which measured 140 fathoms, i. e. 840 feet above the level of the sea; and some assert, that there is never more than 1-7th part of the ice above the water. But by referring to my *Observations*, page 60, it will appear, that as, according to *Mairan sur la Glace*, p. 264, ice is only 1-14th part of its height above the surface in fresh water, or, according to *Dr. Irving*, in *Capt. Phipp's voyage towards the North Pole*, *Appendix* p. 141, no more than 1-15th of its height

* This calculation might well have been spared. It is founded on Fox's assertion. (Vid. *Fox's North-west Fox*, p. 137.) that *Baffin* saw ice 140 fathoms above water. But this is evidently a blunder of Fox, proceeding from his having mistaken *Baffin's* account published by *Purchas*. *Baffin* himself says, it was 240 feet; and thence infers, that it was 140 fathoms, or 1680 feet from the bottom. Vid. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Part III. p. 837.

in snow-water; therefore ice in sea-water may probably be only 1-10th of its height above the surface, and that consequently 840 feet instead of 7 ought to be multiplied by 10 to measure the whole height; so that this mass of ice was 8400 feet high, which is indeed a most tremendous height)! In 61 deg. 16 min. N. lat. he came to the firm ice, and put in amongst it, in hopes that every tide it would open more and more. Having passed some days among the ice, on the 27th of May he descried the *Resolution Islands*. On the 1st of June he discovered a good harbour on the west side of the *Resolution Islands*. At the change of the moon the water rose and fell nearly 5 fathoms. The variation of the compass was 24 deg. 6 min. The northern channel, or *Lumley's Inlet*, was 8 miles in the narrowest places. On the 8th of July he came to the *Salvage Isles* (Savage Islands) which form a considerable group: here he found a great number of natives, with whom he traded. Their dogs were most of them muzzled, and wore collars and harnesses for the purpose of drawing their masters furniture when they remove from one place to another. They are of a black-brown colour, and have very much the appearance of wolves. Their sledges are shod or lined with large fish-bones. This island lies in 62 deg. 32 min. N. lat. about 60 leagues from the mouth of the strait. The variation of the compass is 27 deg. 30 min. a south-easterly moon makes a full tide, which rises almost as high as at the *Resolution Islands*, and comes from the east. On the 29th of June, the weather being cleared up, he at length saw *Salisbury Island*. On the 1st of July he discovered a group of islands, which he named *Mill-Isles*, because of the grinding of the ice among these islands. The latitude of them is 64 deg. As he was standing along these islands the sea came with the tide from the south-east, and drove his ship with great force into the eddy of the islands. On the 11th he discovered land to the westward, which being a headland he named *Cape Comfort*. The latitude of it is 65 degrees N. The farther he proceeded in the inlet, the shallower it grew. This cape
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was on the land of *Carey's Swan's Nest*. Bylot went only to 65 deg. 25 min. N. lat. and to about 86 deg. 10 min. west long. from London. Having tacked about to return, because the land trended to the north-east, he found on the 16th, near a point of land, a great number of sea-horses lying on the ice, and from this circumstance named it *Point Sea-horse*. Here he observed that the flood came from the south-east, and the ebb from the north-west. On the 26th he passed between the islands *Salisbury* and *Nottingham*. He came to an anchor at *Diggs's Island*, where his people killed a great quantity of sea-fowl on the rocks for their food, and at last arrived again at *Plymouth*.

XXV. The public-spirited gentlemen who had had the former voyages on discoveries made at their own expence, were willing to set on foot one more. The gentlemen alluded to were Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Mr. *John Wolstenholme*, and Mr. Alderman *Jones*, together with some others. They again chose *Robert Bylot* for the Captain, and *William Baffin* to be pilot. The ship *Discovery* went out now for the fifth time on a voyage of discovery. They set sail from *Gravefend* on the 26th of March, 1616. The first land they saw, being the 14th of May, was within *Davis's Straits* in 65 deg. 20 min. N. lat. Several Greenlanders came to their ship, and received some small pieces of iron from them. But seeing that he was sailing away, they appeared much dissatisfied. *Bylot* did not come to an anchor till he was in 70 deg. 20 min. near *Davis's London coast*, where the inhabitants fled before them in their boats. In this sound, which was a very good one, the tide did not rise above 8 or 9 feet. Two days after, he sailed farther to the northward. On the 30th he reached *Hope Sanderson* (the farthest land that *Davis* had been at) in 72 deg. 20 min. Continuing his course, he came in 72 deg. 45 min. to some islands, where he found nothing but women, whom he treated with kindness, making them presents of iron. To these islands he gave the name of *Women's Isles*. Here the

tide did not rise above 6 or 7 feet. The women had black streaks on their faces, which were raised above the surface of the skin. *Bylot* now sailed farther on to the northward, but met with a great deal of ice. He therefore looked about for a harbour, till the ice should be waisted and gone, and stood into one in lat. 73 deg. 45 min. Here the inhabitants came immediately to them, and brought them seal-skins and unicorns * horns, in exchange for iron. Hence he named the sound *Horn Sound*. He stayed here a few days longer, and then set sail again. The wind was still contrary, but the ice was almost all dissolved, insomuch that he had it in his power to go again to *Women's Islands*, from which he sailed 20 leagues to the westward, without finding any more ice. On Midsummer-Day all the ship's tackling was covered with frost, nevertheless the cold was by no means intolerable. The sea was free and open, but the wind was contrary. He therefore stood off from the shore, and stood in for it again. He then let fall an anchor to measure the tide, which afforded him however but little hope. The weather now grew very foggy, he therefore sailed along the coast. The next day he came to a fair cape or headland, which he named after Sir *Dudley Diggs*. It was in 76 deg. 35 min. N. lat. and close adjoining to it lay a small island. At the distance of 12 leagues from the cape he saw a considerable inlet, in the middle of which was a small island, which caused a double current. Here he anchored, but the ship drove with the current though she had two anchors out. He was therefore obliged to weigh and stand out to sea. This inlet he

* These horns are very improperly called by the name they bear; for it is well known that the *narbwal*, or sea unicorn, a kind of whale found in Greenland, has two such horns, which are long and wreathed, but that seldom both horns are found together in the fish; probably they may lose one of them in their wars with each other, or in the combats they have with other fish. There has been an instance of a sea-unicorn having run his horn into the bottom of a ship, where he had broke it off and left it.

named *Wolfenholme's Sound*; it spreads out in several small inlets, and is very convenient for the whale-fishery. Another storm now arose, which obliged him to lie a Hull; and when the weather cleared up again, he found himself in a large bay. He then set sail again, and flood over to the south-west side, where he anchored in an inlet, but lost both anchor and cable, the wind blowing with great violence from the tops of the mountains. He was therefore obliged to stand off and on, the bottom of the bay being still entirely covered with ice. This bay contained a great many whales, on which account he also named it *Whale Sound*. The latitude of it is 77 deg. 30 min. The weather being very fair, he kept along by the land, till he came to a large bank of ice, behind which lay the land. On seeing this he stood back about eight leagues to an island to which he gave the name of *Hakluyt's Island*. This island lies between two inlets, viz. *Whale Sound* and *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*; which latter runs to the north of 78 deg. and is also extremely remarkable in one respect, viz. because in it there is the greatest variation of the compass of any part of the known world. For, by divers very exact observations, he found it to be above five points*, or 56 degrees varied to the westward. This inlet seems to be very conveniently situated for the whale-fishery, it being the largest in the whole bay. That which induced him to sail over to the island was that he intended to search for whale-bone there. But the weather was so bad, that he could not land with the boat. The next day the wind came more outward. The sea was grown so high, that he weighed anchor, and it was two days before he could find a good anchoring place. This day the weather cleared up, and he discovered a group of islands at the distance of about 10 or 12 leagues from the land.

* The mariner's compass is divided into 32 different points, or winds. Now the whole compass comprising 360 degrees, each of these 32 points or winds must amount to $11\frac{1}{4}$ degrees; consequently five points are equal to $56\frac{1}{4}$ degrees.

He could have wished indeed to stand over to them, but the wind would not permit it, nor would he spend any more time after these islands, which he distinguished by the name of *Cary's Islands*. He then stood to the westward with a stiff gale of wind, which was succeeded by a calm, accompanied by a fog, when he found himself at the entrance of a large inlet, which he called *Alderman Jones's Sound*. In the afternoon the weather turned out fine and clear; and he sent a boat on shore, whilst the ship kept on her course; but the wind getting up again, the boat returned on board, and the men related, that they had seen a great number of sea-horses lying on the ice along the coast. Then having an easy gale of wind at E. N. E. they sailed along by the coast, which began to trend more to the southward, and began to have the appearance of a bay. On the 12th day he opened another great sound, or inlet, and named it *James Lancaster's Sound*. Their hopes of finding a passage began now to decrease every day. From this inlet to the southward a ledge of ice ran all along the shore; he therefore kept close by the ice till he came to 71 deg. 16 min. where he could see the land as far as 70 deg. 30 min. Being now almost surrounded by the ice, he was obliged to stand more to the eastward; for he expected to be soon clear of the ice, and designed to have kept on the off-side of it till he came to 70 deg. when he intended to stand in again to the southward; but matters turned out quite contrary to his expectation, for he was obliged to run above 60 leagues through the ice, and was often fast locked in it, though he kept his course due east. He kept constantly so near the ice, that many times he found it difficult to get clear of it; and yet he could not get near the land till he came to 68 deg. 41 min.; when he saw the shore, but by reason of the great quantity of ice could not come to it by 7 or 8 leagues. This was on the 24th

of July. Here he continued for three days more, endeavouring to come to an anchor, in order to try the tide ; but the ice carried him at length into the latitude of 65 deg. 40 min. upon which he left the western coast entirely, being now directly opposite *Cumberland Straits*, where he had no hopes of a passage. He therefore found himself under the necessity of putting an end to his voyage of discovery, as the proper season for it was already elapsed, and his crew but weakly ; some of them, indeed, being absolutely sick, and his cook even dead. He now stood over to the coast of *Greenland*, and came to an anchor in the harbour of *Cocking Sound*, in lat. 65 deg. 45 min. Going on shore on an island there, they immediately found some *Greenland scurvy-grass* (*Cochlearia officinalis varietas Groenlandica*) sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) and orpine (*Sedum acre*) in great quantity. They boiled the scurvy-grass in beer, and in a week all the sick were perfectly recovered, and continued well till their arrival in England. Soon after their landing the inhabitants came and brought them some young salmon and other fish, which they bartered for glass beads, counters, and pieces of iron ; and which contributed very much to the recovery of the crew. It was quite astonishing to see the great shoals of salmon that were swimming to and fro in this harbour. The tide rises in it about 18 feet. The crew being perfectly refreshed, he set sail again, and, in 19 days, saw land on the coast of Ireland. On the 30th of August he anchored in Dover Road.

This voyage likewise, though in the highest degree worthy of attention, is but very imperfectly known to us from *Baffin's* relation ; and all the charts of the newly-discovered *Baffin's bay* have been merely laid down from the observations made in his journal ; for *Purchas*, who has published so many wretched, paltry maps, was afraid of the expence attending the publication of *Baffin's* important chart, and it is therefore
probable

probable that it is entirely lost. The female Greenlanders on *Women's Islands* had black streaks on their faces, raised above the surface of the skin, and the same kind of decoration has been observed to be used among the *Tunguses* in Siberia, as also on some *Jakutes* *. The gradually decrease of the tide to the northward seems to me to be a pretty strong proof of its coming from *Davis's Straits*, and that consequently this Baffin's Bay has no connection either to the northward or the westward with the great ocean; in which case no passage can be expected to be found in the whole bay. It is, however, astonishing, that *Baffin* should have been the only person hitherto that has explored this bay, and that after him no one has ever ventured upon this sea. The whales, which are found here in great abundance, may perhaps have purposely selected this bay, which no mortal besides Baffin has ever navigated, for their residence, on account of the security it affords them. The whale is a subtle animal, and very capable of distinguishing the places where frequent chase is made after him.—It is astonishing that all those who were afflicted with the scurvy on board of *Bylot's* ship, should have been restored within eight or nine days by the use of fresh herbs and fish. This proves that nothing contributes more to cause this kind of putrid fever than the want of sweet air and of fresh provision. It is possible, without doubt, to retard, in some measure, the progress of this disease, by the infusion of malt or sweet-wort; but as to curing it radically, that can only be effected on shore, by means of fresh provisions, and a diet consisting chiefly of vegetables.

XXVI. This last unsuccessful voyage of *Bylot* and *Baffin* seems to have put almost an entire stop to the inclination of the enterprising society above-mentioned to promote any farther voyages to the north; neither indeed do we find any one recorded for a long space of time.

* Vide *John Geo. Gmelin's Travels to Siberia*, Part I. page 79. Part II. page 208. *Georgi's Travels*, Vol. I. page 254.

Something, however, is mentioned of a voyage made by Capt. *William Hawkbridge*, or *Hawkridge*. This is the same person who, in 1612 and 1613, had accompanied Sir *Thomas Button* in his voyage of discovery. But the account is very imperfect: for first, it is entirely unknown in what year this voyage took place: 2dly, neither is it known at whose expence or at whose instigation it was undertaken: nor, lastly, is it possible to discover the name of the ship in which Hawkbridge sailed, nor from what port he went, nor where he landed on his return to England; it seems probable, however, that this expedition took place after that of *Bylot* in 1616; because *Fox* describes it quite at the end, after *Bylot's*; and that it was before that of *Fox* and *James*, which took place in 1631; because the same writer places it expressly before his own.

Hawkbridge sailed to the westward, and, on the 29th of June, found himself in the great entrance to *Lumley's Inlet*; and in fact was the first that ever was in this inlet, for all his predecessors had only imagined that they were in it, but had at length found it prove otherwise. He did not leave this inlet till the 8th of July; on the 9th, he found the pinnacle again, which had sailed out with him. He was retarded for a long time by strong currents and contrary winds. Near *Cape Charles* he found a small island, and the ground thereabouts seemed to promise a great quantity of fish; nevertheless he caught none. The latitude of the island was 62 deg. 19 min. The variation of the compass 3 deg. 9 min. The tide rose 21 feet, and set to the south-east. On the 27th he sailed farther on: after making many efforts to this purpose, he saw land on the 7th of August, which appeared to him to be *Salisbury Island*. Towards the bottom of the bay the latitude was 64 deg. 30 min.; the variation 23 deg. 10 min. At length, on the 10th of August, he came to *Seaborse Point*. On the 11th he went deeper into the bay, till he at last found the lat. to be 65 deg. N. He therefore tacked about, and stood for *Diggs's Island*, in order to try the tide there. After this, he staid a few days
off

off the *King's Foreland* and *Mansfield Island*. A little farther on, seeing firm ice, he returned. On the 7th of September he was again near the *Resolution Islands*. On the 10th the pinnacle lost her boat, and probably he hastened home, for here the account breaks off.

This attempt of *Hawkbridge's* has discovered nothing new, but that between *Carey's Swans Nest* and the eastern islands he went as far as 65 deg. where *Bylot*, however, had already, in 1615, been before him.

XXVII. After a long pause, the spirit of enterprize and investigation again burst forth. *Lucas Fox*, a man who from his earliest years had used the sea, and who was to have gone out with *John Knight*, in the capacity of mate, in 1606, and since that time had collected all the information he possibly could arrive at concerning the progress that had been made in the voyages of discovery undertaken to the North, formed an intimacy with several skilful mathematicians of his time, amongst whom he particularly cites *Thomas Sterne*, who had carefully collected all the journals and charts of the former voyages, with a view to his profession, viz. the making of globes. After this he renewed his former acquaintance with the famous mathematician *Henry Briggs*, who made him acquainted with Sir *John Brooke*, when several respectable people formed an association for setting on foot another voyage of discovery, which was, however, put a stop to by *Henry Briggs's* death. In the mean time Capt. *Thomas James* had persuaded many merchants in Bristol to set on foot a voyage of discovery in the north, and these solicited Mr. *Briggs* and Sir *John Brooke*, to allow both ships to go out together on this expedition, a request which was willingly granted. Sir *Thomas Roe*, who was returned from his embassy to the Court of Sweden, and old Sir *John Wolstenholme*, were appointed by the King, to procure every thing that might serve to promote this voyage. The brethren of the *Trinity House* were also to give their assistance, and young Mr. *Wolstenholme*, afterwards Sir *John Wolstenholme*, was to be Treasurer

Treasurer to the whole enterprize. The King (*Charles I.*) gave also one ship to it, and ordered it to be fitted out with all necessaries in the most complete manner, and to be victualled for 18 months. When Capt. *Fox* was presented to the King, his Majesty gave him a map, containing all the discoveries made by his predecessors, with instructions and a letter to the Emperor of *Japan*, in case he should get into the South Sea, and reach *Japan* by the passage he went out to discover.

Capt. *Lucas Fox* set sail from *Deptford* on the 5th of May, 1631, in his Majesty's ship *Charles*, of 80 tuns burden. On the 15th he broke his main-yard in two. He went to the *Orkneys*; but not being able to procure a new main-yard there, failed on. After passing *Cape Farewell* in a fog, he shaped his course towards *Hudson's Straits*. When he came near the ice, he found that to the leeward of every large island of ice, there floated a great many small pieces, formed by the continual beating of the sea upon these islands, and undermining them so that they fell to pieces by their own weight. At length, on the 20th of June, *Fox* saw land on the north side of *Lumley's Inlet*. He was then in 62 deg. 25 min. N. lat. Finding ice in this inlet, he was desirous of getting into *Hudson's Straits*; but here likewise there was floating a great deal of ice. He stood over from *Cape Warwick* on *Resolution Island*, to *Cape Chidley*, or *Button's Islands*, of which he distinctly saw four. On the 23d the morning was foggy, but later in the day the sun shone so hot, that the ice as well as the pitch on the sides of the ship began to melt. In the strait was still a great quantity of ice, of which he observes two sorts: first, *mountainous ice*, of a very considerable size and height, some of which reached from 20 to 40 yards above the surface of the water; and next, *flaked ice*, some of which was above a rood, and some two acres square, but most of it about one or two feet above the water, and eight or ten under the water. On the 30th they passed by a piece something higher than the rest; on this
lay

lay a large stone, weighing at least 5 or 6 tons; besides which there were other stones on it, and some mud. These mountains of ice are formed on shore by the snow, which the wind blows on to the steep brow of some high mountain, to which it adheres, and is compacted into a firm and solid piece of ice, which in the spring becomes loose at the approach of a thaw, and rolls into the sea, carrying with it the earth, stones, mud, and trees, which it before enveloped. One night a mountain of ice came driving strait on towards the ship; as it was deeper under water than the *flaked ice*, the current consequently made it drive faster over than the latter, some of which was between the ship and the mountain, else this huge mass being already perforated by the action of the water upon it, in consequence of its percussion against the ship might have burst; when the broken pieces falling into the vessel, might easily have sunk it, as this mountain was 9 or 10 fathoms (i. e. from 54 to 60 feet) above water, and who can say how many under it? (perhaps 9 or 10 times as much, and consequently the whole height of the mountain of ice was about 540, or even 600 feet). On the 1st of July *Fox* was opposite to a second island, separated from the *Resolution Islands*, which in some maps is called *Terra Nivea*. The weather was hot and close, but calm, so that they could not stir for want of wind. On the 4th he sent a boat to the north land, where they found several huts deserted by the natives, as also a piece of drift-wood, and the footing and dung of an animal of the stag kind. On the 14th he saw a sea-unicorn, about 9 feet long. The back of it was black, with a small fin upon it; the tail lay flat, transverse with respect to the ridge, and between the two peaked ends was, as it were, indented. The sides were dappled, black and white; the belly was all over of a milk white; the body, from the gills to the tail, was shaped like a mackerel's; but the head resembled that of a lobster, and on the fore part of it grew a wreathed horn, 6 feet long and of a black colour all over, excepting just at the tip. The same evening he saw 20

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more sea-unicorns. On the 15th, seeing the islands of *Salisbury* and *Nottingham* at 7 leagues distance, he went somewhat to the southward, out of the way of the ice, and had ground in 160 fathoms. The stones brought up by the lead were of the same kind with those that usually lay upon the ice, and are carried by it from the main land; these stones consequently being by degrees detached from the ice, fall to the bottom; so that in the space of so many years it is not to be supposed that any spot on the bottom of the sea hereabouts can be free of them. Here he observed that the needle had lost its powers, and gives his conjectures on this phenomenon, and on the cause of it, which he was inclined partly to deduce from want of motion in the ship, in consequence of its being becalmed, or from the action of the neighbouring mountains, which perhaps might contain such minerals as had an influence on its magnetic powers; or else from the cold benumbing it, and operating upon it in the same manner as it does upon us, or rather from the sharpness of the air interposed between the needle and its attractive point, weakening the force of its direction *. He was now near *Nottingham Island*, whither he intended to send his boat. He had ground, with muscle-shells and stones, at 35 fathoms. The ebb came from the N. W. Their latitude was 63 deg. 12 min. On the 15th *Fox* made a very important observation: the islands *Resolution*, *Salisbury*, and *Nottingham*, were all three of them high on the east

* The celebrated Mr. *Henry Ellis*, who in 1746 and 1747 made a voyage in the *Dobbs galley* to *Hudson's Bay*, observed between the islands and the higher latitudes, that the magnetic needle had lost its power. As the probable causes of this phenomenon, he assigned, 1st, the minerals, by which possibly the needle was strongly attracted (as for instance, it is in the isle of *Elba*) 2d, the proximity of the magnetic Pole, and finally, the cold of the climate, which latter he considered as the true cause; finding that the compasses, as soon as they were removed into a warmer place, immediately recovered their usual power and direction. We see, however, that *Fox* had observed this fact before him, and assigned nearly the same causes for it. After this can we refrain from exclaiming with the wise man, *There is nothing new under the sun?*

fide, and low on the west *. Here he also saw a great many sea-horses. He saw the same day, at a distance, *Cape Pembroke* on the main land of *Cary's Swans Nest*, where likewise were many sea-horses. On the 18th he was pretty near this last-mentioned land, and on the 19th, on a flake of ice, saw a white bear, which after some time they killed. It yielded 48 gallons of oil; they ate the flesh of it boiled, and found it to be good; but when roasted, it tasted fishy and rank. The same night they saw a dark streak in the horizon, and in the sky to the northward the meteors, known by the name of *Henbanes*, or *petty Dancers*, which were considered by Fox as the fore-runners of a storm to follow within 24 hours; an event which did not, however, happen. On the 21st they were not advanced much farther. They came to *Carey's Swans Nest*, where they chased many swans, but caught none, on account of the marshes, brooks, and pools of standing water, so frequent on this shore. On the 24th they saw several seals in 62 deg. 20 min. N. lat. but as for fowl there were but few of any kind. On the 27th it was warm, even at night. There he saw abundance of rock-weed and tangle (or *Tang*). Near the main land on the west-side of *Hudson's Bay*, he discovered an island in 64 deg. 10 min. N. lat. which he named *Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome*. They found some burial places of the natives, but not one human creature alive. The spears left behind in these sepulchres were headed, some with iron and some with copper. On the 28th he observed a great number of fish leaping in the water, together with many seals, and also a whale. He came at length to a white island, to which he gave the name of *Brook Cob-*

* This physico-geographical observation is of the highest importance, and seems to me to prove that at that time, when the sea burst impetuously into *Hudson's Bay*, and tore away these islands from the main land, it must have come rushing from the east and south-east, and have washed away the earth towards the west; a circumstance which has occasioned their present low position.

bam, after Sir *John Brook*. (It is also now called *Marble Island*). They found swans and ducks, and a young bird with a long neck and head, of which Fox did not know whether it was not an ostrich (probably it was a species of crane). Their dog pursued for a long time a reindeer, but the quarter-master, having neither gun nor spear with him, was obliged to let the creature escape, though the dog had brought it to a stand, both the deer and the dog having hurt their feet very much on the rocks, so that they bled copiously. They saw also near the island about 40 whales, which were probably asleep there. Fox then sailed along the western coast off the main land, which he kept constantly in sight, and before which there lay a great many small rocks. On the 20th the master went on shore on a small island, on which he found a considerable quantity of sea-fowl (viz. black guillemots, the *Colymbus Grylle Linnæi*). He brought also from thence a live dun fox (the *Canis Lagopus*, or arctic fox) and had seen two sea-horses, one of which he struck with a lance, which nevertheless escaped, for want of the assistance of some person besides himself. They also brought a great quantity of scurvy-grass on board, from which Fox ordered the juice to be pressed out, and mixed with a hogshhead of strong beer, and commanded that every one that chose it should have a pint of it for his morning's draught; but not a man on board would taste it, till such time as it was entirely spoiled, and they were all terribly afflicted with the scurvy *. The island was called

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* This is the constant complaint of all the Commanders of ships at sea. The private men will never submit to any innovation being made in their manner of living; and were they to be ever so sick, will not make use of preservative remedies. The infusion of malt, sour crout, together with the biscuits made at the Cape with rye flour, and prepared with sour leaven, were held by our crew in abhorrence; and it was only with great difficulty, and after having seen the officers make use of all these means, and observed the benefits resulting with regard to their health and preservation against the scurvy, that they consented to take them too. It was just the same when at *New Zealand* Capt. *Cook* ordered a kind of celery and cresses to be boiled with the pease-soup;

Dun Fox Island. On the 31st they came to a quantity of islands, which *Fox* named *Briggs's Mathematics*. The land along which they sailed on the 3d of August was low, with here and there a little sand-hill, like the coasts of Holland and Flanders. The farther *Fox* removed from the *Welcome*, the smaller was the height to which the tide rose. On the 9th he determined at length to go into the *River Nelson*, at the mouth of which he saw several white whales. Here he set up his pinnacle, and here he found the remains of *Button's* winter dwelling, and saw numberless white whales of the size of porpoises. On the 15th of August the weather was very hot. On the 17th, higher up the river, they found blackberries, strawberries, gooseberries, and some vetches. They also saw the footing of an animal of the stag kind, and hard by this spot the wooden frame of a tent standing, which had lately been made, together with the fire-place, the hair of deer, the bones of fowl, and other tokens, that not long before men had been there. On the 18th they saw from on board the ship a reindeer trotting along the strand, but could not overtake him. Having found *Button's* cross overturned, they erected it again, nailing an inscription on it, engraved on a leaden plate, and named the land *New Wales*. As they were not able to sail on the 19th, on account of the wind being contrary, he once more sent the carpenter on shore to fell the best of five trees selected by the master, to supply the place of a main-yard. None of them was of any tolerable size, the wood here being universally small; for the thickness of the moss in which they stand hinders them from taking root deep in the ground. Hence it is, that for a short while they grow out of the moss pretty stout, though they never grow tall, and are

soup; for many refused to eat it till they saw the Captain, the officers, and all the rest of us eat it, when at last they too condescended to do the same. The same difficulties occurred, when we first began to eat the duck-divers and penguins in *Tierra del Fuego*, as also seals flesh; but indeed, at length, from our example, the crew learned to eat almost any thing.

easily

easily beat down by storms, and then perish. Of all the five trees pointed out, not one was serviceable, they being all rotten within. The highest tide that spring had risen to 14 feet. But then the east south-east, and east north-east winds had forced the tide in, or else it would not have risen higher than 12 feet. From this place *Fox* went along the coast to the eastward. On the 29th of August he for the first time had sight of Capt. *James* and his ship, and conversed with him. On the 2d of September he came to *Cape Henrietta Maria*, where the shores of the bay take a southerly direction; and thus far *Hudson* had explored the bay. Now likewise all the coast was explored between *Port Nelson* and *Cape Henrietta Maria*. Consequently there was no farther hope left for a passage in this part of the world, from 64 deg. 30 min. to 55 deg. 10 min. N. lat. *Fox* therefore was now desirous of making some fresh attempts beyond *Nottingham Island*, where before he had found every part choaked up with ice. To *Cape Henrietta Maria* *Fox* gave the name of *Wolfenholme's Ultimum Vale*. Already, on the 6th, the master and the boatswain were sick. On the 7th *Fox* came to *Carey's Swans Nest*, on which they would have been stranded if he had not happened accidentally to go upon deck. On the 8th he found himself in 62 deg. 21 min. and to the north of him was *Cape Pembroke*. At length he came to *Seakorse Point*, and on the 15th saw *Mill Isle*. The sails were frozen as stiff as vellum. On the 18th he saw a headland, which he named *King Charles's Promontory*, and the point that lay to the north of it he called *Cape Maria*, after the Queen. The former of these is in lat. 64 deg. 46 min. the latter 8 leagues more to the northward. To the north-west of *King Charles's Promontory* are three islands, which together form an equilateral triangle, and which he called the Trinity Islands, after the brethren of the *Trinity-House*. Another island, somewhat farther from the land, he named *Cook's Isle*, after his friend *Walter Cook*. The Queen's Cape was in N. lat. 65 deg. 13 min. On the 20th he saw another promontory,
situated

situated some leagues within the Arctic Circle; this he named *Lord Weston's Portland*, it having in fact some resemblance with the Point of *Portland* in the British Channel. To the northward of this promontory the land stretches to the south-east, and this he called *Fox's Farthest*. But the island, along the eastern coast of which *Fox* made these discoveries, is in some maps called *James Island*, though the extensive country in the southern part of *Baffin's Bay*, opposite to *Disco Island*, is also called *James's Island*, which has introduced a great deal of disorder and confusion into geography*. Now *Fox* set out upon his return, and gave names to every point of land on this coast, and to every inlet, and adjacent island; and after passing on the 5th of October, when already many of his crew were sick, near *Cape Chidley*, where the head of his ship by frequent dipping into the sea, was, as it were, candied over with ice, the current drove him with great impetuosity to the southward. At length, having crossed the Atlantic, he got through the Channel into the Downs, on the 31st of October, without the loss of a single man or of any the least part of the ship's tackling.

The whole narrative of this voyage, together with the occasional remarks made by *Fox*, shews that he was a skilful and experienced navigator, and that he even did not overlook such particulars, as would rather seem to belong to natural philosophy; as, for instance, his observations on the ice, the tides, the compass, and the northern lights, which latter he calls *Henbanes* and the *Petty Dancers*. We may add, that *Fox* was of opinion, that if a passage were yet to be found, it must necessarily be in *Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome*, the tide being higher there than in any other part of *Hudson's Bay*, and there being moreover a great number of whales about this spot.

XXVIII. We have before observed, that *Capt. Thomas James* had been sent on this voyage by some merchants at Bristol, in a strong-built

* It would therefore be better to call this land *Fox's Island*, the extreme northern point of it having been discovered by him.

ship of 70 tuns burthen, named the *Maria*. *James* went up to London, and was presented, by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to King *Charles I.* and like *Fox*, had letters given him for the Emperor of Japan. Directly upon this, he set sail from Bristol, viz. on the 3d of May, 1631. On the 4th of June he came within sight of Greenland, but was encompassed by mountains of ice. On the 9th they had already *Cape Farewell* in the east. On the 10th they were off *Cape Desolation*, from whence to the islands of *Resolution* it is about 140 leagues. They saw a great many high mountains of ice: between the ice were many grampusses (*Delphinus Orca*). The sea looked black, the fog was continual, thick, and stinking. On the 17th he saw the island of *Resolution*. At this juncture the motion of the needle was impeded, a circumstance which *James* attributed to the thick, heavy, and piercing fogs. A strong current set into Hudson's Straits. The sails and rigging of the ship were frozen. The straits were full of ice, and as they were endeavouring to proceed forwards, they were fast inclosed in it, so that they were driven with it to and fro. *James* was entirely unacquainted with the voyages that others had made before him to the northward, and had purposely avoided engaging any of the people who had, previously to this, made a voyage to the north-westward, or to Spitzbergen; consequently he was entirely ignorant of what he must do in this case, or of the best means of saving himself in such a situation. The want of experience with respect to this point exposed him to inexpressible sufferings between the ice, and to the most imminent danger of perishing in it, together with his ship and crew. Having at length worked through Hudson's Straits with incredible difficulty, he stood strait on to the western shore of Hudson's Bay, where the vessel struck more than once on the rocks. He seldom got sight of the land on account of the ice. At length he met and conversed with Capt. *Lucas Fox*, between *Port Nelson* and *Cape Henrietta Maria*, as he called it, but which is in fact no other than *Wolfenholme's Ultimum Vale*. Then,

after he had taken leave of *Fox*, he came himself to this promontory, which he first named *Henrietta Maria*, after her Majesty the Queen of England. The season for making discoveries was now pretty nearly over; he sought therefore, quite at the end of the bay, for a place to winter in. After encountering many storms, and thousands of perils, amongst the ice and the many rocks which are found in that part of the sea, and his ship having two or three times struck on the shoals, he ran her himself a-ground on the island, which he afterwards called *Charleton* Island. With great difficulty and danger they carried their provisions, cables, sails and rigging, clothes and utensils, and a thousand other necessaries on shore. They made themselves some miserable huts, of pieces of wood, which they placed in an inclining posture round a tree, and covered them with boughs of trees and with their sails, which were soon covered over with a good thick bed of snow. Besides this hut, they built another, and a store-house. The hands, feet, ears, or noses of every one of them were frost-bitten. Their clothes that had lain under water in the ship, they were obliged to dig out of the ice, and, after thawing them by the fire, to dry them again. As they entirely gave their ship up for lost, they set about building a small pinnace, with which they hoped, after having once got over the winter, to save themselves from this dreary place of exile. The cold was most terrible here, in N. lat. 52 deg. 3 min. Wine, sack, oil, beer, vinegar, and even brandy froze to solid ice; so that they were obliged to cut the first of these liquors with hatchets and axes. A well which they had dug, froze also: but a spring, at 200 or 300 steps from their dwelling, did not freeze below the surface, though at the surface it was covered with ice and snow. The sun and the moon appeared on the horizon twice as long as they did broad, on account of the great quantity of vapours with which the atmosphere was filled. The island was quite covered with forests, but contained but few reindeer, and some

arctic foxes. On the 31st of January the atmosphere was so clear, that Capt. *James* could very plainly perceive more stars by two thirds than he had ever seen before in his life. The sea is frozen over every night, two or three inches thick. The half-flood breaks this ice, and drives the flakes over each other, which freeze immediately together; by this means the ice in a few hours time becomes five or six feet thick, and the number of flakes and fields of ice is increased to that degree, that the sea is entirely filled with them, and the water cools more and more every day, so that at length it becomes intolerably cold; for when Capt. *James*'s people waded in the sea-water in the month of December, though it froze upon their legs, yet they did not feel it near so sensibly as in the month of June, when to their feelings it was so sharp and piercing, that they could not bear to wade in it*. In the month
of

* It is very probable that the generation of ice here indicated may be one of the various means which Nature actually makes use of in the œconomy of our system. Short-sighted and weak is that mortal who, on observing any particular method employed by Nature in her operations, immediately concludes, that is the only way in which she operates. Nature possesses a vast variety of means for the accomplishment of her purposes, of which that feeble creature Man, can form no adequate idea! But the more we contemplate this vast profusion of means, all tending to the same end, these wonderful and varied links in the complicated chain of Nature's system, the better we shall become acquainted with them, and the nearer will the reflecting mind approach to the great source of Being,

Qui. mare & terras variisque mundum
temperat horis.——HOR.

“ Snow and hail, fire and vapour, wind and storm, fulfilling his word !”——DAVID.

Some, but by far not all of these means I have mentioned in my *Observations*. The daily augmentation of the coldness of the sea in winter, is as certain as the greater increase of the ice there at that season; yet the circumstance here related of the ship's crew having been more sensible of cold in the month of June than in December, may not be altogether without foundation.

Heat.

of February, that horrible disease, the scurvy, made its appearance. They bled at the mouth, their gums were swollen, and sometimes black and putrid, and all their teeth were loose. Their mouths were so sore, that they could no longer eat their usual food. Some complained of shooting pains in the head, others in the breast, others felt a weakness in their reins, others had pains in their thighs and knees, and others again had swollen legs. Two thirds of the crew were under the hands of the surgeon, and nevertheless were obliged to work hard, though they had no shoes to their feet, but instead of shoes fastened clouts about them. In the open air the cold was quite insupportable, no clothes being proof against it, nor any motion sufficient to keep up their natural warmth. It froze the hair on their eye-lids, so that they could not see, and it was with difficulty that they could fetch their breath. In the woods the cold was somewhat less severe, yet here they were afflicted with chilblains on their faces, hands, and feet. The least degree of cold was within doors. On the outside, the house was covered with snow two thirds of its height, and within side, every thing was frozen and hung full of icicles. Their bedding was quite stiff, and covered with hoar frost, though their beds were almost close to the fire in their small dwelling. The water in which the cook soaked the salt meat froze within doors, though it stood but three feet from the fire. But, during the night, when the fire was not so well kept up, whilst the cook slept only for four hours, all was frozen in the tub

Heat and cold, as long as we do not judge of them by a certain unalterable standard, age, with respect to the human body, mere relative ideas. Now the external air in the month of June being much warmer than it is in December, the coldness of the sea-water must naturally have affected the bodies of the sailors more sensibly in June than in December; to this we may add, that in the spring Capt. James's people were almost entirely debilitated by cold, fatigues, and scorbutic complaints, which was not yet the case in December, just in the beginning of the winter.

into one lump. When afterwards the cook soaked the meat in a copper kettle, close to the fire, to prevent it from freezing, the side near the fire was found to be quite warm, while the opposite side was frozen an inch thick. All their axes and hatchets had been spoiled and rendered unfit for use, by cutting the frozen wood, so that Capt. *James* found it necessary to lock up the carpenter's axe, in order to prevent it from being spoiled also. The green wood that they burned in their dwelling almost suffocated them with smok; that which was dry, on the contrary, was full of turpentine, and produced so much soot, that they themselves, all their beds, clothes, and utensils, were covered with it; and, in short, they looked like chimney-sweepers. The timber, knees, beams, and bent pieces, wanted for the construction of their pinnace, caused the greatest difficulty, as the trees, before they could fell them, were obliged to be thawed by the fire. After this, the pieces were first hewn out in the rough, then dried again, and at length worked into the last form that was to be given them, and fitted into each other; for which purpose they were obliged constantly to keep up a large fire near the stocks, as otherwise it would have been impossible for them to have worked there. Many of them were disabled by the scurvy, or had frozen limbs, boils, and sores; others were every morning so contracted in their joints by the rheumatism, that it was necessary to restore the suppleness and pliancy of their limbs by fomenting them every morning with warm water and a decoction of the fir-tree, before they were able to go a step forward, or to make use of their hands. In the month of March the cold was as severe as in the midst of winter; in April the snow fell in greater quantities than it had done during the whole winter, but the flakes were large and rather moist, while in the winter, the snow was dry, like dust; even on the 5th of April, the spring which we mentioned, that they had found, was frozen. An island which was situate at the distance of four leagues from them, they could never see from

from a small hill in fine weather, and when the air was clear; but, on the contrary, when the air was thick and full of vapours, the island was visible, even from plain, level ground.

They now began once more to clear away the ice in the ship's hold, and to seek for the rudder, which the ice had beat off the year before; they wished likewise to see whether possibly the ship was not tight enough to carry them safe home. With this view they all worked very hard, and were fortunate enough to clear the ice away by degrees, to get the anchors on board, to find the rudder again, and to bring it on deck, and likewise to find the ship tighter than they had expected. Having cleared away some of the ice, they found water in her hold. At low water they stopped up the holes which they had bored in her themselves the preceding autumn with a view to fill the hold, and thus to render her heavier than before, and keep her steady, so that the sea might not lift her up from the bottom, and in letting her down again, dash her to pieces. They found both the pumps, thawed the water which was frozen in them, and set about pumping the water out of the hold. On the last day of April it began to rain, which to them was a sign of the spring's approach. On the 2d of May it snowed again, and was excessively cold. This made the sick very low-spirited, and their disorders increased to such a degree, that they fainted away whenever they were lifted out of bed. Geese and cranes came now flying in great numbers, but they were extremely shy. Even on the 8th, the frost was so intense, that the ice would bear a man. On the 24th the ice broke in the bay, with a very great noise: in the day time the sun shone very hot, but at night it froze. On the last day of May they saw here and there some vetches spring up, which were carefully gathered, and dressed for the sick. During the whole month of May the north winds chiefly prevailed. On the four first days of June they had much snow, sleet, and hail; and it was so cold that the pools were covered with ice, and even the water in their pitchers was frozen within doors, and their
newly

newly-washed linen continued frozen the whole day. They now hove up the anchor, and found the cable in good condition. On the 9th, all the sick were so far recovered by the eating of the green leaves of the vetches, that they could make shift to creep about in the house, and were even able to bear the air; and those who had been least enfeebled were grown tolerably strong. The green vetch-leaves were dressed twice a day, and eaten with oil and vinegar. They likewise bruised the leaves and mixed the juice with their drink. They also ate them raw with bread. On the 11th they hung on their rudder, which, for many days before, they had not been able to accomplish, on account of their weakness. They also lightened the ship, by heaving out her ballast. On the 15th all the sick were so far recovered, that they could walk about; their palates and gums were quite sound and well, and their teeth were no longer loose, so that they could now eat their green vetches with beef. The sea was still frozen and full of ice. On the 16th the weather was very hot, and they had thunder and lightning: it was so hot, indeed, that they were obliged to bathe in order to cool themselves. But now an incredible quantity of musquitoes (*Culex pipiens*) made their appearance, which tormented them extremely; at the same time there was seen a great number of ants and frogs: but the bears, foxes, and fowl, had totally withdrawn themselves. On the 20th they got the ship into deep water, though there was still abundance of ice lying about. They also began to rig the ship again, and to carry their provisions on board, together with their sails, clothes, and other necessaries. On the 2d of July they set sail again. At *Cape Henrietta Maria* they met with some stags, but their dogs could not overtake them; James, therefore, put these latter animals on shore, they being a dog and a bitch, and left them there. They got, however, half a dozen of young geese. After working with infinite labour and difficulty through great quantities of ice, till the 22d of August, he came to *Carey's Swans Nest*, and at length to *Nottingham Island*. Upon this, considering that the season for
making

making discoveries was now elapsed, that he had but a small stock of provisions left, and that his ship was very crazy and leaky, he resolved to make for England with all possible speed. He was of opinion, that there was no passage to be found, and that for the following reasons: 1st, Because the tide in every part of this sea comes from the east through Hudson's Straits, and the farther it goes, the later it arrives at every place within the strait and bay. 2dly—Because these seas contain no small fish, such as cod, stockfish, &c. and few large ones, which likewise are seldom seen. Neither are there any whalebones, nor any sea-horses or other large fish found on the shore; nor is there any drift-wood here. 3dly—Because the ice in 65 deg. 30 min. N. lat. lies in large fields or flakes on the sea, because it is generated in the flat bays, but if there was a great ocean farther on, nothing but large mountains of ice would be found, such as are at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, and farther on to the eastward. 4thly and lastly, Because the ice drives eastward through the straits into the great ocean, by reason that it comes from the north, and has no other way to go out by.—Having cleared the straits, they crossed the Atlantic, and came to anchor in *Bristol Road* on the 22d of October, 1632.

It cannot be denied, that *James's* voyage contains some remarkable physical observations with regard to the intenseness of the cold, and the great quantity of ice in these climates; but relative to the discovery of new regions, countries, and seas, we do not find the smallest hint. His arguments to prove the non-existence of a passage in these seas, are by no means satisfactory. For, 1st, his first position is true only in part: in the southern recess of the bay the tide decreases in height greatly, and also arrives there far later than at the mouth of the straits; but it does not follow from thence that this is every where the case, particularly it is not so in *Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome*, where the tide is even higher than it is at the mouth of Hudson's Straits; and yet even there it does not come from the west. 2d. *Fox* found

many whales near *Brook Cobham* Island (Marble Isle) and also many *sea unicorns*; consequently this argument holds good only with respect to the other parts of the bay. The 3d and 4th arguments are, in fact, one and the same; and as there is always much water coming from the northward, which breaks the ice there in pieces, and drives it out of Hudson's Straits to the eastward, this would rather induce one to draw an inference in favour of an influx from some other sea.

XXIX. After the enterprizes of *Fox* and *James*, there seemed to be no farther disposition in the public to give its support to similar undertakings. But in the mean time a burgher of Canada, named *De Grosele*, or *De Groffeliers*, an enterprizing man, and who had travelled very much in those parts, had happened to come with the Canadian savages into the land of *Outawoas* (Utawas, situate on the river of the same name) and at length penetrated so far into the country, that he got intelligence concerning Hudson's Bay, and its situation. When he was returned to *Quebec*, he joined with some of his countrymen in fitting out a bark for the purpose of accomplishing this discovery by sea. Soon after he set sail, and landed within the mouth of a river, which the savages call *Pinaffwet schiewan*, i. e. the *tearing stream*, which is situated but one league from the river *Pawiriniwagau*, or *Port Nelson* River. He fixed his residence on the south side, on an island three leagues up the river. The Canadians, as being good sportsmen, arrived at length, in the midst of winter, at *Port Nelson* River (which the French called *Riviere de Bourbon*) and there discovered a settlement of Europeans. He therefore went thither with his people, in order to attack them, but found only a miserable hut, covered with turf, and containing six half-starved people. A ship from *Boston*, in New-England, had put them on shore, on purpose to look out for a place where they, together with the whole crew, might pass the winter. The ice had in the mean time driven the ship, with the rest of the crew, out to sea again, nor did they ever hear any thing farther

farther of either. But that very same winter *Grofeillier* received intelligence that at 7 leagues from the place of his residence, there subsisted another settlement of Englishmen on the banks of *Port Nelson's River*. He intended to attack these also; but learning that they lived in a fortified place, he chose a day for this undertaking on which the English are accustomed to make merry. Accordingly he went on Twelfth-Day to put his design in execution; and found them all so drunk, that though there were 80 men of them, they could not defend themselves in the least; so that he made them all prisoners, though he had no more than 14 Frenchmen with him. In consequence of this, he remained master of the country. *Grofeiller* afterwards explored the whole district, and returned with his brother-in-law, *Ratiffon*, to *Quebec*, loaded with abundance of rich furs and English merchandize. He left, however, his nephew, *Cbouart*, and five men in possession of the conquered post. Instead of being well received in Canada for his good conduct, he had a dispute with his employers on account of some plunder, for which *Grofeillier* and his people had not accounted. He therefore sent his brother-in-law, *Ratiffon*, to France, to complain of the injustice he had suffered, who, however, was not listened to. He then went himself to France, and represented to the Ministers the importance of his discovery in the most favourable light he could; but neither he nor his representations met with the least attention. The English Ambassador at Paris, Mr. *Montague*, who was afterwards created Duke of *Montague* (and to whom the present British Museum formerly belonged, the English nation having bought it of his heirs) having heard of *Grofeillier's* offers, and of the unjust treatment he had met with from the Ministers, spoke with him, and gave him and his brother-in-law letters to the Count Palatine *Rupert*, in London. This Prince was a great patron and encourager of all laudable and useful enterprizes, and saw perfectly well, that great advantages would result to England from such a settlement. Accordingly a

King's ship was fitted out in 1668, under the command of Capt. *Zacharias Gillam*, and the two Frenchmen went with him. Capt. *Gillam* went as far as to 75 deg. N. lat. in Baffin's Bay, and then stood into Hudson's Bay, in the most southerly end of which, on the 29th of Sept. he entered *Rupert's River*; where he passed the winter. This *Rupert's River* comes out of the great lake *Mistassie*, and discharges itself into the south-eastern corner of Hudson's Bay. On the 9th of December they were frozen in, in the river, and went on foot over the ice to a small island overgrown with poplars and American firs. In April the cold was almost entirely gone, and the natives straggling in those regions, who are possessed of greater simplicity as well as goodness of heart than the Canadian savages, came to visit them. On the other hand, the *Nodways*, or *Eskimaux* (who probably had their name from the river *Nodway*, or indeed may have given their name to the river) are far more uncivilized and cruel. It was here that the English built the first stone fort, which they called *Fort Charles*, and to the country round it they gave the name of *Rupert's Land*. At length, after having completely performed his commission, Capt. *Gillam* returned and left the fortification garrisoned with a sufficient number of men.

But K. *Charles II.* even before Capt. *Gillam* had set out on his voyage homewards, had granted to Prince Rupert, and to divers Lords, Knights, and merchants, associated with him, a charter, dated the 2d of May, 1669; by which his Majesty stiled them the *Governor and Company of Adventurers trading from England to Hudson's Bay*; and in consideration of their having, at their own costs and charges, "undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay, in the north-west parts of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South-sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities, and of their having already made, by such their undertakings, such disco-

veries

veries as did encourage them to proceed farther in pursuance of the said design ; by means whereof there might probably arise great advantages to the King and his kingdom," absolutely ceded and gave up to the said undertakers the whole trade and commerce of all those creeks, seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, and sounds, in what latitude soever they might be, which are situated within the entrance of Hudson's Straits ; together with all the countries, lands, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the said seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds ; so that they alone, and to the exclusion of all others, should have the right of trading thither ; and whoever should infringe this right, and be found selling or buying within the said boundaries, should be arrested, and all his or their merchandizes should become forfeit and confiscated, so that one half thereof should belong to the King, and the other half to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Such was the beginning of a commercial company, which has subsisted without interruption ever since the year 1669, and still subsists the same, excepting that from the year 1697 to 1714, the French have been in possession of *Fort Bourbon*, or *York Fort*, on the river *Nelson*. They have at present only four settlements in the whole extent, vast as it is, of this bay. The first, *Fort Prince of Wales*, on the river *Churchill*, is also called *Fort Churchill*, on account of its being erected on the river of this name, and is the most northern of these factories. It is in 58 deg. 55 min. N. lat. and 95 deg. 18 min. west of *Greenwich*. The second is *York Fort*, on the *River Nelson*, where the French formerly had their *Fort Bourbon*. The third is farther from thence to the south-east, and bears the name of *New Severn*. The last and most southern one is situated entirely within *James's Bay*, and is called *Albany Fort*, on the river *Albany*. Formerly there were also some facto-

ries at *Moose Fort*, at *Fort Rupert*, and on the east side of *James's Bay* in *Slude River*; but it seems that at present they are no longer either occupied or visited by the Hudson's Bay Company. The entire sum which constitutes the original funds of this Company, amounts to 10,500*l.* sterling; every holder of 100*l.* stock has the right of voting, and every one who is possessed of more than 100*l.* of the said original stock, has as many votes as he has shares or hundreds of pounds. But if a share be divided among several persons, they are entitled all together to no more than one vote. By degrees this society has raised the price of their wares, and lowered that of the commodities of the natives of America and of the Eskimaux to such a degree, that the commodities exported from England to Hudson's Bay, will only freight four small ships, which scarcely require 130 sailors to man them, and amount to about 4000*l.* reckoning them at prime cost. These exports consist of muskets, pistols, powder, shot, brass and iron kettles, axes, hatchets, knives, cloth, blankets, baize, flannels, steels and flints, gun-worms, hats, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, rings, bells, needles, thimbles, glass beads, vermilion, thread, brandy, &c. &c. With these commodities they buy skins, furs, castor, beaver furs, whalebone, train-oil, and eider down, to the amount of more than 120,000*l.* sterling. Now this would be at the rate of 25,500*l.* for every 1000*l.* disbursed by them, or 5250*l.* per cent. But from this we must deduct the duties, the expence of fitting out the ships, the pay of the officers and sailors, the maintenance of the fortifications and factories, and of the people belonging to them; and yet, even then, there remains to them a very great profit. The general opinion is that the proprietors of this stock, who are at present not 90 in number, gain about 2000 per cent. As for certainty with respect to this matter, there is none; for the Company transacts all its affairs with the greatest secrecy. Thus much, however, is certain, that no trade in the world is so profitable as this of Hudson's Bay.

Bay. But, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that as the English nation in no branch of commerce is a greater loser than in this, nothing but the sanctity of a charter granted by Government, can protect this commercial Company, so very detrimental to its mother country. If the trade was made entirely free and open, more than 50 or 60 ships would go every year to Hudson's Bay, and, instead of 130 sailors, 2500 would be annually maintained and brought up for the service of the state. These 60 ships would also yearly export to the value of 100,000l. or 120,000l. of wares and English manufactures, which would greatly encrease the manufacturing business, and would provide for a considerable number of poor, and give them employment and maintenance. Add to this, that these North-American provinces might also be better peopled and planted with English colonies. For, were they but removed to the distance of some miles inland, and from the sea, which is covered with vast quantities of ice, and by this means rendered intensely cold; they would find weather far milder, and a more temperate climate; where they might cultivate themselves, in great abundance, all those necessaries of life which it is at present impossible to raise on the shores of Hudson's Bay. This would enable them to establish by degrees, still farther and farther inland, settlements and habitations of Europeans. Now the farther they went to meet the Indians, and to carry their merchandize to them, the more considerable would be the stock of beaver and deer-skins, and other furs and peltry, that they might get from these people, and afterwards carry in large European boats to the factories by the sea-side. A good huntsman among the Indians can kill 600 beavers; but he can carry no more than 100 beaver-skins to the factories on the sea in his small boat, made of the bark of birch: the remaining 500 he makes use of for his bed and bed-cloaths, or hangs them up on trees as tokens of remembrance, when any of his children happen to die; or else he sings the hair off, and, broiling

broiling the skin, eats it as a dainty at their feasts ; or perhaps throws them away, and leaves them to moulder and rot. It is still worse with respect to the deer-skins, of which the Indians, comparatively speaking, carry but very few to the factories by the sea-side ; for in the year 1740, at their first public sale, the Company sold about 26,970 beaver-skins of different kinds, and only 250 deer-skins, and 30 elk-skins, when they kept back three-fifths of their merchandize for the next auction. Now the Indians have a notion, that the more deer they kill, the more the number of them will increase ; for which reason, when they come into a country where the animals are very numerous, they wantonly kill as many as ever they can, though in fact they make no use either of the skins or of the flesh, on account of the great plenty there is of them ; the consequence of which is that they are all left to rot on the spot. But if they had a place, not too far distant to resort to, inhabited by Europeans, to whom they could sell their skins and harts-horns, they would undoubtedly rather preserve them than destroy them thus wantonly and without occasion. Consequently, by making more new settlements of Europeans in the country, the quantity of merchandize would be augmented five or six, or perhaps ten-fold. Besides the mutual concurrence of a variety of chapmen would allure the Indians to make greater efforts to procure a larger quantity of goods, and consequently encrease and extend the trade very much. To this we may add, that in the northern parts of *Hudson's Bay* there are a great many whales, sea-horses, and seals, the killing of which would be very profitable, and might serve to freight part of the ships in the bay. Higher up in the country likewise there is excellent timber fit for masts and yards for the royal navy, as also very fine oaks, which would make keels, knees, bent timbers, and planks, as also pipe staves in abundance, an article which at present begins to be scarce almost every where,

where, and is sold at such extravagant rates, that it is almost impossible to go to the price of it. Now, if there were plantations of any tolerable extent in those parts, the felling and sorting of such ship and other timber would cause the money to remain in the kingdom, which is now carried out of it; and the royal dock-yards would be supplied with stores of good ship-timber and masts at a much cheaper rate than they at are present. But however detrimental the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company is to the British state, it is nevertheless still carried on; and though the Company is now and then threatened with an enquiry, by a Member of Parliament or two, yet the Proprietors always take care to adduce such solid and weighty arguments against it, that matters are suffered to remain in the old position, and they are left undisturbed in the possession of their lucrative commerce.

XXX. The miscarriage of the attempts made in Hudson's Bay, and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, were now powerful obstacles to the undertaking of new discoveries in those parts. *John Wood*, however, an experienced seaman, who had paid particular attention to the voyages that had been made to the North, proposed once more to seek for a shorter way to Japan, China, and the East-Indies, between *Nova Zembla* and *Spitzbergen*. The King gave the ship *Speedwell* for this expedition, and the *Duke of York*, Lord *Berkley*, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Samuel Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Duvey*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*, bought a pink called the *Prosperous*, and gave the command of it to Capt. *William Flavies*, that both might set out together on this voyage of discovery. On the 28th of May, A. D. 1676, they set sail from the Buoy at the *Nore*. On the 17th and 18th of June they found themselves in 70 deg. 30 min. N. lat. had 7 deg. variation,

variation, and saw a great number of whales. On the 19th, in the morning, after foggy weather and rain, they saw abundance of sea-birds and finfish (*Balæna Physalus*). Soon after, they descried land, viz. the islands at about 20 leagues to the west of the *North Cape*. From hence they steered nearly north-eastward, and so early as on the 22d of June, in 75 deg. 59 min. saw ice, which extended from W. N. W. to E. S. E. The pieces that were broken off from the ice formed various whimsical figures. The large ice-field, though low, was yet very uneven and rough; the flakes lying some by the side of, and others upon each other. In some places they observed high hills of a quite a blue ice, whilst all the rest of the ice was as white as snow. Here and there also they found drift-wood between the ice. Some ice which they took up and melted yielded fresh water. Near the ice they had ground with 158 fathoms, and the lead brought up with it a green and soft ore. The current set along-side of the ice S. S. East. On the 26th of June they saw two sea-horses lying on the ice; but these animals, though they were wounded, made their escape from them into the sea. At midnight they had ground, with 70 fathoms and green ore; the next evening they saw land from the east to the south-east. It was at the distance of 15 leagues, and quite covered with snow. On the 27th they found that the ice lay close to the land of *Nova Zembla*, so that they could not pass between the land and the ice. On the 29th the ship struck on some rocks that lay hidden under the water. They saved only a few provisions and tools, and with great difficulty got the crew on shore, after losing a great quantity of provisions, together with the Captain's papers and other things, by the oversetting of one of the boats. Being ashore, they were at a great loss how to get away from thence. On the 8th of July they espied at length Capt. *Flawes's* ship, and made a great fire, in order to let him know where they were, upon which he sent his boat to their relief, and took them all on board his ship. Almost the whole of *Nova Zembla*

Zembla was covered with snow, and where there was no snow the land was marshy, as it were, and overgrown with a kind of moss, bearing a blue and yellow flower. Having dug two feet deep, they found every thing frozen like ice. The lower hills are free from snow, but the higher mountains are in all probability covered with an eternal snow. They found in the country reindeers in abundance, also some arctic foxes, and a small animal, like a rabbit, but not quite so large as a rat, and some birds like larks. Every quarter of a mile almost, there is a stream, which however proceeds only from the melted snow. The mountains they found consisted of slate, but nearer to the sea they met with good black marble with white veins. The variation of the needle, *Wood* found to be 13 deg. to the westward. The tide rises eight feet, and flows directly against the shore, but not along it, which he considers as a proof that there can be no passage to the northward; but as the tide in these seas must necessarily come from the west and south-west, it stands to reason, that at such a distance from the influence of the moon, it must be very weak, and consequently cannot rise to a great height; and then as the tide comes from the south-west, it cannot flow otherwise than in a direct line against the shore of a headland that stands out to the north-westward. The sea-water he found very salt and very heavy, nay, saltier in his opinion, than any he had ever tasted in his life: though at the same time it was so clear and limpid, that at the depth of 80 fathoms he could plainly see the bottom of the sea, and even distinguish the different muscles there. The point off which *Wood* lost his ship he named *Point Speedwell*, after his ship, and supposed it to be in 74 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and 63 deg. E. long. from London. But as, according to his chart, this point must be the same with that which in the Dutch and the new Russian charts is called *Troost Hoek*, or *Comfort Corner*, it would rather seem, that the latitude of the place should be 77 deg. 40 min. and the longitude 83 deg. eastward from Ferro; whilst, according to his computation, it was only 80 deg. 34 min. from

Ferro. Though *Wood's* journal contains hardly any thing but the ship's reckoning, yet he does not appear to have been sufficiently exact in his computations and observations.—Having now saved all the remainder of the crew, they sailed straight back to England. In their way homewards they saw the Faro Islands, and next came within sight of the Orkneys and *Caitbness*, in Scotland, and at length arrived, on the 23d of August, at the *Buoy* at the *Nore*, from whence they had set out.

XXXI. The royal charter having been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, partly on the account that they had undertaken, at their own expence, a voyage of discovery for the purpose of finding a passage into the South-Sea, and had made so great a progress, as to be in hopes of discovering it, it should seem that these motives alledged by the King for granting the Company such extensive privileges and advantages, would have excited them to pursue this discovery still farther with uncommon ardor; but in fact these very advantages which had been granted to them, produced the direct contrary effect. The great profits they actually derived from this trade made them fear, lest Government, in case of the passage being found out, might recall their charter, and grant it to the East-India Company, or perhaps even open a free trade to those parts. On this account they endeavoured to conceal as much as possible the true situation and nature of the coasts of this country, of the seas, of the neighbouring nations, and, above all, of the profitable trade carried on to these parts. As the property of all the lands bordering on Hudson's Bay is vested in this Company, and as the savages actually repair thither, for the sake of trade, from very remote parts to the south-west and west of the Bay, it may truly be said, that about 80. people in England are the proprietors of a country far more extensive than England, Scotland, and Ireland, taken together. The members of this Company are accused of having even endeavoured to bribe those who had any knowledge of these seas and coasts,

coasts, and who were apprized of the probability of a passage into the South-Sea. However, that they might not be said to do nothing, they sent the Captains *Knight* and *Barlow* out, with a ship and a sloop, for the purpose of making discoveries. According to Ellis's account, this happened in 1719. On the contrary, *Drage*, the clerk of the *California*, asserts that it was in 1720; but nothing more is known concerning them, than that they went out, as nothing farther has ever been heard with respect to either of the two ships.

XXXII. As neither of these ships ever returned, they were supposed to have been damaged, or perhaps even destroyed among the ice, and their respective crews, it was conjectured, had been saved, and might possibly be still subsisting in some part of the land within the 63d deg. N. lat. This report being apparently founded on the vague relations of the Eskimaux, there was no dependence to be placed on it. However, as soon as the Hudson's Bay Company received this information, they immediately gave orders for another sloop to be sent out to make search after the people that had gone with the two ships of *Knight* and *Barlow*, and at the same time to make what discoveries and observations they could. Accordingly the sloop set sail from *Churchill River* on the 20th of June, 1722, under the command of Capt. *Scroggs*. In lat. 62 deg. he purchased from the inhabitants some raw whalebone, and some sea-horses teeth. In 62 deg. 48 min. he sent his boat out after a piece of drift-wood, and found it to be a foremast, which had been broken off 5 feet above deck. *Scroggs* proceeded till he came into the *Welcome*, where he named one point *Whalebone Point*, and the southernmost island was called *Cape Fullerton*. Here he saw a great many black whales, and also some white ones. Having sent his boat on shore, the people that went in her saw many reindeer, geese, ducks, and other wild-fowl. He computed that the tide rose 5 fathoms, for he had measured it with the lead and line from on board his ship while it lay at anchor, when he found 12 fathoms ground at high water;

but at low water only 7, which would make a difference of 5 fathoms. This observation, however, was defective; for as a ship that lies at anchor always changes her place with the tide, *Scroggs* must necessarily have pre-supposed, that the bottom of the sea, where the ship lay at anchor, was every where at an equal distance below the surface; a very false supposition, the experiment on which it was founded being made, not by a settled standard ashore, but by a line from the ship. Two northern Indians, whom *Scroggs* had with him, and who had passed the winter at Churchill, told him of a rich mine of native copper, which was to be found on the coast, quite laid open, so that, in fact, they needed only to go thither with a boat, and might immediately take in a lading of it; they had even, as a proof of their assertion, brought some pieces of copper with them to Churchill. They had also at Churchill drawn on parchment with charcoal, the situation of the coast from thence to the spot; and as far as the ship was then come, the sketch perfectly corresponded with the real situation of the country. One of these Indians had testified a desire of being dismissed, as he was only about three or four days journey from the usual place of his abode, a request which *Scroggs*, however, refused him. *Scroggs* mentions in his journal, that he had been in the *Welcome*, but could go no farther, on account of a ridge of rocks that lay in his way. But it appears evidently, that he never had been in the *Welcome*, but only in a bay, which is, in fact, known by three different names, being called *Pistol's Bay*, *Rankin's Inlet*, and also *James Douglas's Bay*. That well-known island called *Marble Island*, and which likewise was before known by the name of *Brook Cobham*, lies at the mouth of this bay, and consequently it cannot be mistaken. The ridge of rocks was the occasion of *Scroggs* not proceeding any farther. The Indians, who very much wished to return home, had purposely made up a story concerning some hindrance or obstacle,

only

only to induce him to tack about, and let them go. Many of his crew, too, were desirous of returning that same season to London. They were therefore anxious lest the ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company should not only be already arrived at Churchill, but even might be gone home. Now the boat which *Scroggs* had sent out, being advanced something farther into the bay, the people who wished to set sail for England, returned immediately, saying that they had been as far as the ridge of rocks mentioned by the savages, and could not go a step farther. Now this was sufficient to persuade *Scroggs* to return home, and to give out, that he had himself been to the ridge of rocks, though the fact was quite otherwise.

This voyage which, like all the rest, miscarried, had many original defects. *Scroggs* was by no means fit for conducting an expedition of this kind, being destitute as well of the previous knowledge, as also of that active and enterprising spirit, necessary on these occasions. Neither were the people employed in the voyage inclined to pursue these researches with constancy and ardor, their voyage home to England being their chief object, an object which made them lose sight of every other, and finally, they did not go the right way to profit by the information given them by the savages, or to make it worth while for these people to go farther with them. And here I cannot help making some observations on the multiplicity of appellations given to one and the same place, and on the confusion it causes in geography. But this confusion becomes still greater, when the same name is given to two different places or countries. In *Wager Straits*, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, is a haven named *Douglas's Harbour*; and the place sometimes called *Rankin's Inlet*, is by others called *Pistol Bay*, and also *Mr. James Douglas's Bay*. Now it must certainly be allowed that the man who first introduces such appellations, as tend to

to create confusion, is not very solicitous about the perspicuity and exactness of geographical description; and we are sorry to find that, in consequence of assuming, besides the *Cook's Strait* between the two islands of which New Zealand is composed, another *Cook's Strait* in the North, between Asia and America, the greatest geographer of the age should come under this description.

XXXIII. The accounts given by *Button* and *Fox*, together with the report of the last navigator, Capt. *Scroggs*, excited in the year 1733, the attention of Mr. *Arthur Dobbs* to all these circumstances, and particularly to the high tide in the *Welcome*. He also received some information respecting these points from Capt. *Christopher Middleton*, who had navigated those seas many years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Accordingly he applied to the Company, and by dint of importunity obtained, in the year 1737, a sloop, together with a shallop, which, however, went only to 62 deg. 30 min. N. lat. where they found a great number of islands, and some white whales; and in a cove where they anchored, the tide flowed 10 or 12 feet, and came from the north. The above imperfect account is all that is known at present of this voyage of discovery.

XXXIV. Mr. *Dobbs* finding that this voyage, made by order of the Hudson's Bay Company, had been performed in a very slow, tedious manner, with very little ardor, and indeed with a wilful negligence, applied to Government, which ordered a *bombketch* or *sloop*, called the *Fury*, to be fitted out, the conduct of which was entrusted to Capt. *Christopher Middleton*, who till then had been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. To this was added the *Pink Discovery*, commanded by Capt. *William Moor*. Both ships went out in 1741, and came to *Churchill River*, where they spent the winter; and having got every thing ready, set sail again on the 1st of July, 1742. *Middleton*, according to the instructions given him, was to steer to the N. W. after having gone through Hudson's Straits, and passed by *Carey's*

Swans

Swans Nest, and to pursue the same course till he should fall in with the north-west land, at *Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome*, in 65 degrees N. lat. On the 4th he saw *Brook Cobham*, or *Marble Island*, covered with snow, in 63 deg. N. lat. and in 93 deg 40 min. W. long. from London. The variation of the compass he found to be 21 deg. 15 min. westward. On the 13th he saw a very high cape or headland on the north-west side of the *Welcome*, in 65 deg. 12 min. N. lat. and 86 deg. 6 min. W. long. which he named *Cape Dobbs*, and behind it he discovered an opening bearing N. W. which he entered. This he named *Wager River*, after *Sir Charles Wager*. The northern promontory upon this river was afterwards named *Cape Smith*. The entrance into *Wager River* is in 65 deg. 24 min. N. lat. and 88 deg. 37 min. W. long. from London. Within this vast body of water they found great quantities of ice, and behind some islands on the north side of it was an inlet which they called *Savage Sound*, in consequence of having seen some *Eskimaux Indians* there: on the same north side also there was another inlet, where the *Eskimaux*, which were come along with them from *Churchin*, shot some reindeer, and thence it was named *Deer Sound*. (These *Eskimaux* having never been here before, had not the least knowledge of the country.) Having spent some weeks in this strait, they went at length farther to the north-eastward along the coast, on which they at last discovered a very fair headland, and behind this headland the coast trended to the westward; this they took for the most northern point of America, and named it *Cape Hope*. Having worked during the whole night through a great quantity of ice, in the morning after the sun had dispersed the fog, they saw land all around them, and also a large bay, which they entered, and went to the very end of it. The tide came from the east, and flowed slowly, as it does in a place where it has no passage. The variation of the compass was 50 deg. Nothing being to be expected here, he called it *Repulse Bay*, and ascended a very high mountain, from whence he saw

the whole strait, which was about 18 or 20 leagues in length, lying in the direction of S. E. by S. At a distance he saw high land, which he took to be *Cape Comfort*, on the land now made out to be an island, on which *Carey's Swans Nest* is, and opposite to which, in an oblique direction, is Lord *Weston's Portland*, discovered by Fox. *Middleton* having visited all these parts, bore away to the southward again, in order to explore, agreeably to his instructions, the western coast of the *Welcome* from *Cape Dobbs* to the island of *Brook-Cobbart*, but found no opening there. Near this island he set the two *Esquimaux* he had with him ashore, after making them handsome presents, and immediately afterwards set sail for England. The strait from *Repulse Bay* eastward, towards *Cape Comfort*, lies nearly in 67 deg. N. lat. and had no anchoring ground close to the shore, but was very deep, and consequently very dangerous for the ships, which were without a harbour or any place of security, in case of a storm. Concerning this voyage, there arose a very warm dispute between Mr. *Dobbs* and Capt. *Middleton*. The first was of opinion, that the latter had wilfully concealed or at least misrepresented some discoveries, in order to curry favour with the Hudson's Bay Company, who had always been displeased whenever any voyages of discovery, or expeditions for finding out a passage into the South Sea, had been undertaken in Hudson's Bay, which had been ceded to them by Government.

XXXV. This dispute was carried on with much acrimony on both sides; The arguments adduced by Mr. *Dobbs*, which were founded on facts, mentioned by *Middleton* himself, were examined, and it was the general opinion, that Mr. *Dobbs* was in the right. The sum of 10,000l. sterling, was raised in shares of 100l. each, for the purpose of undertaking a new voyage of discovery, and at length two ships were sent out, viz. the *Dobbs galley*, commanded by Mr. *William Moor*, and the *California*, under the command of Mr. *Fra. Smith*, which set sail together from *Gravesend* on the 20th of May, 1746. Being arrived at no

great distance from *Cape Farewell*, they passed for some time through a great quantity of drift-wood, which Mr. *Henry Ellis* describes as being pretty large *timber*. He is of opinion, that as *Egede* had seen in Greenland, in 67 deg N. lat. birch-trees, elms, and other kinds of wood, about 18 feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, this drift-wood must probably have come from thence; and that as the western coasts, as well of Norway as of Greenland, are colder than the eastern, so the timber growing on the eastern might surpass in size that growing on the western coasts. But the quantity of wood growing in Greenland, and even in the still warmer country of Iceland, is so small, that if for ten years together only as much of it should be converted into drift-wood, as is actually seen floating about, not a stick of it would have been left in the end. Besides, the wood never grows so near the sea as that it could be easily washed into it. Finally, an enormous quantity of drift-wood is found in the sea between *Kamtschatka* and *America*, and along the northern coast of Siberia. Near Bear's Island, off Spitzbergen, as also off Iceland, we find drift-wood in abundance, as well as on all the islands extending from Kamtschatka to America. Is this, too, to be deduced from the few trees which grow in Greenland, far from the sea, in a valley, sheltered from the cold winds? This, it must be owned, is far from probable; but the great rivers in Siberia, which pass through regions quite overgrown with wood, to the distance of many miles, and into which other large streams discharge themselves which streams also come out of woody countries; the *Petschora*, for instance, the *Ob*, the *Jenisea*, the *Lena*, the *Cbatanga*, the *Anabara*, the *Jena*, the *Kolyma*, the *Indigirka*, the *Anadyr*, and the *Amur*, are all large and considerable rivers, which, at the thawing of the ice in the spring, carry from their overflowed or undermined banks an inconceivable quantity of trees along with them into the sea. What vast

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quantities

quantities of wood the rivers of the American continent, in *King George's Sound*, *Sandwich Sound*, and *Turnagain River*, in the *Cheuwereen*, which empties itself into *Norton's Sound*, and in *Gygy*, carry along with them into the sea, we shall not find it difficult to conceive, if we do but consider the size of the rivers, the closeness of the trees in the forests, and the great floods which constantly take place in the spring. The river *St. Lawrence*, and many other North American rivers, carry vast quantities of wood along with them into the sea, as well as those in Newfoundland and Labrador, as I have been assured by people who had been upon the spot, and even spent the winter there, and consequently had seen the breaking up of the ice, and the thawing of the rivers. To this must be added, that the rivers in Hudson's Bay, but chiefly the *Churchill*, *Hayes*, *Port Nelson*, *Albany*, and *Moose Rivers*, together with many others in like manner carry wood into the sea from the innermost parts of the country, where also grows timber of a considerable size. From all these considerations taken together, we are likely to form a better conjecture from whence all the drift-wood found in the northern seas, proceeds, than by having recourse to the trifling and scanty woods of Greenland.

On occasion of the first large ice which they found in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Straits*, Mr. *Ellis* supposes the fact to be, as *Middleton* says, viz. that it proceeds from a quantity of ice and snow accumulated for many years back, which is detached every six or seven years only, and carried into the sea by a great inundation ; at the same time, however, he endeavours to combine this with the opinion of *Egede*, who expressly asserts, that it is nothing but large pieces broken off from the ice formed on shore. There may, however, be still other causes besides the foregoing ; e. g. In the beginning of winter the ice on the whole sea in

Baffin's

Baffin's Bay, *Davis's Straits*, and *Hudson's Bay*, sets in still calm weather some inches thick : now, when by storms and high tides, this ice is broken into flakes, these flakes are driven over each other, and freeze together, so as to form thicker masses than before, and at length accumulate, so as to make entire mountains of ice. I have myself, in the Polar Seas, seen mountains of ice, composed of regular layers lying over each other, and each of them nearly of an equal thickness. But some of these masses would have one layer of ice quite transparent, and over it another quite opaque, which occasioned me to conclude, that the ice before its being broken into flakes by the wind or tide, must have been quite covered over with snow, and that the sea washing over the snow, had converted it into a thick opaque ice, till the winds drove the flakes over each other, and thus formed a mass, composed of alternate layers of transparent and opaque ice. It is, however, also possible for a mass of snow to be blown, by storms, over a high promontory, on to the frozen sea lying beneath it, and there compose a very high mountain of snow, which in the spring, being moistened by the rains, by rivulets formed of melted snow, and by the sea itself, freezes in this state to a solid and compact body. Now this huge mass is a mountain of ice, which the storms and high tides detach from the shore, and drive to and fro in the sea ; and who can take upon him to enumerate all the different modes in which ice is generated ? But to return, the adventurers made fast to a large piece of ice, and filled their empty casks with fresh water from the ponds they found on the ice. On the 18th of July they had a violent storm, with thunder and lightning, which all those, who were used to navigate to those parts, looked upon to be something exceedingly rare and extraordinary. *Ellis* is of opinion, that the northern lights kindle and disperse the vapours, requisite to the formation of thunder and lightning. But though this may be one reason for the deficiency here spoken of, it should also be considered, that where the earth is covered with snow for so long a

time as it is in this case, no such electric vapours can ascend from it. But if these electric vapours come, in great abundance, as they do for instance from the volcanoes in Iceland and East Greenland, they will then likewise cause thunder-storms.

The breaking asunder of their flake of ice obliged them to make fast to another, till they got more room, and by good fortune were able to proceed in their voyages.

On the 11th of August they discovered land to the west of the *Welcome*, and came to *Marble Island*. Here they made observations on the time, direction, velocity, and height of the tide; and found that the tide came from the north-east, and consequently followed the course of the coast; and farther, that at the full and new moon they had high-water at four o'clock; and that the tide rose to the height of 10 feet. They then went immediately to their winter quarters at *Port Nelson*, where they met with but little assistance from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. On the 1st of July, 1747, they again set out in order to make fresh discoveries, for which purpose they had made their long-boat particularly convenient, by raising, lengthening, and adding a deck to it; this being done, they named it the *Resolution*. Not far from *Knight's Island* the needles of their compasses lost their magnetic quality; after many trials, they found it necessary to keep the compasses warm, when their magnetic power began again to shew itself. They saw several *Eskimaux*, one of whom, an old man, shewed their little ship, which had struck once already, the best way; which is certainly a proof of the good disposition of these people, when they are treated humanely and with kindness. Their boats, which they sent out, discovered a very large and broad inlet, but which has never been explored quite to the end; by some it was named *Bowden's Inlet*, after the second pilot, mate of the *California*; but others named it *Chesterfield's Inlet*. In *Wager Water* they sailed in boats quite to the end of it, where it terminates in rivers and in a fresh-water lake,

so that there is certainly no passage to be expected in that water. The Eskimaux sold them fresh buffaloes flesh (probably flesh of the *muske ox* of these parts, a kind of bastard ox, not mentioned by Linnæus) and also furnished them with dried deers flesh and dried salmons. In this water they saw seals and black whales in abundance. Having made some more fruitless attempts, they sailed again for England, and besides *Chesterfield's Inlet*, and another inlet that is situated beyond *Knights Island*, there is no farther hopes for a passage in these places, so carefully explored by them.

XXXVI. After this last voyage of discovery, all farther attempts to find a passage in the north were suspended for a long time. The arguments adduced by that great navigator and commander, Admiral *Anson*, had rendered the English nation attentive to the settling of *Falkland's Islands* in the Pacific Ocean. Accordingly the late Admiral, at that time Commodore *Byron*, was sent in 1764, to *Falkland's Islands*, and returned in 1766. Directly upon this, the Captains *Wallis* and *Carteret* set out on another voyage round the world in 1766, and returned in 1768. In this same year 1768, Lieutenant *Cook* was sent out with a single ship, accompanied by Mr. (now Sir *Joseph*) *Banks* and Dr. *Solander*, to observe at *O-Tabeite* the Transit of Venus through the sun; and having fulfilled his commission, went out on discoveries; and besides discovering many islands in the neighbourhood of *O-Tabeite*, found also, that *New Zealand* consisted of two islands, which are separated from each other by the *genuine Cook's Straits*. After this he discovered on New Holland a coast of more than 600 leagues in extent, and, after sailing through the *Endeavour Straits* to the Molucca Islands, and *Batavia*, at length, in 1771, arrived safe again in England.—Now the grand question still remained to be decided, whether there are any large tracts of land situated in the south-

ern hemisphere? *Cook* was sent out also on this important and extremely difficult undertaking, in which my son and I accompanied him. He set out in 1772, and was the first who sailed *eastward* round the globe, all the other twenty circumnavigators having made the voyage *westward*. From this expedition he returned in 1775, crowned with honour and immortal fame. But whilst we were navigating round the South Pole, seas choaked up with ice, his Britannic Majesty was graciously pleased to gratify the wishes of the Royal Society, by sending two ships out in 1773, for the purpose of exploring the Frozen Sea near *Spitzbergen*. The one was called the *Race-horse*, commanded by Capt. *Constantine John Phipps*, now Lord *Mulgrave*; the second was the *Carcass*, under the command of Captain *Skeffington Lutwidge*. They set sail on the 4th of June from the Nore. On the 19th they were in 66 deg. 54 min. N. lat. and in 0 deg. 58 min. west longitude from Greenwich. The variation of the needle was 19 deg. 11 min. W. The next day there being a calm almost the whole day throughout, they sounded with a very heavy lead the depth of 780 fathoms, without getting ground. At this depth Farenheit's thermometer was at 26 deg. and in open air at 48½ deg. On the 28th, about midnight, they saw land to the east. On the 29th they were in N. lat. 77 deg. 59 min. pretty near *Black Point*, on *Prince Charles's Island*, which the Dutch call *Zuydboek van het Voorland*. One of the mountains on *Spitzbergen*, in 78 deg. 22 min. they found to be 1503 yards, or 4509 feet high. On a low Island opposite the *Waygats*, or *Hinlopen Straits*, they saw two reindeer, the one of which they killed, and found it very fat. They also saw there a light grey-coloured fox, and an animal somewhat larger than a weasel, with short ears, long tail, and its skin spotted white and black. The island abounded with small snipes; the ducks were now hatching their eggs, and a great number of wild-geese were

were feeding along the shore. The middle of the island was covered with moss, scurvy-grass, and sorrel, and a few ranunculuses then in flower. Soon after they were beset by the ice; at length, however, they disengaged themselves from it, after having been to the south-west of the seven islands. They tried also how far they could go to the westward; but the ice lay there very close, and as immoveable as a wall. During a hard gale, they tried the temperature of the sea in that state of agitation, and found it considerably warmer than that of the air; an observation which had been made already by Plutarch. Finding now, that on account of the ice it would be impossible to proceed any farther, they resolved to sail homeward.

XXXVII. Capt. *Cook* being returned, in 1775, from his southern voyage, without having made the discovery of any large continent, it still seemed necessary to learn the situation of the lands in the sea between Asia and America, and for this expedition *Cook* again was chosen. The *Resolution*, on board of which he had before made the voyage round the Southern Pole, was given him again, together with the *Discovery*, the command of which was given to Capt. *Charles Clerke*, who had already, once with *Byron* and twice with *Cook*, made the voyage round the world. Both ships left the Thames in the year 1776; but *Cook* set out on his voyage to the *Cape* on the 12th of July. *Clerke*, a man of a noble disinterested spirit, had been security for the debts of his brother Sir *John Clerke*, at the time that he went on board a King's ship to the Indies. He having died in India, his creditors would have come upon Capt. *Charles Clerke* for payment. Some people of rank, who wished him well, advised him to go into the King's-Bench, as the sum that Sir *John* owed was pretty considerable, and much more than his brother *Charles* was able to pay. An act of grace which came out soon after, set many thousands of prisoners at liberty, and, amongst others, Captain *Clerke* regained his freedom towards the end of July, and set sail in the *Discovery* from Plymouth.

mouth on the 1st of August. They arrived in Table Bay on the 10th of November, where the *Resolution* had been already three weeks before them. *Cook* now explored the islands discovered by *Marion* and *Kerguelen*, went to *Van Diemen's Land*, from thence to *New Zealand*, and losing the advantage of the wind, was obliged, instead of going strait on to *O-Tabeite*, to sail first to the *Friendly Islands*, and in going along, discovered a few more islands not seen before. From thence he went to *O-Tabeite*, and the neighbouring Society Islands, and having left *Omai* there, went into the South Sea, in order to explore the northern hemisphere. Here he descried, not far from the Equator, an uninhabited low island, abounding with turtles, which he thence named *Turtle Island*. After this he went to the Tropic of Cancer, in the vicinity of which he discovered a group of islands, where the inhabitants received him with great kindness, and where he procured very good refreshments for his crew. On the 7th of March, 1778, in 43 deg. 10 min. N. lat. and 235 deg. 50 min. E. long. from *Greenwich*, they discovered *Cape Blanco*, on the coast of North-America. On the 30th, with a view to repair their ships, they went into a harbour which they named *King George's Sound*, but which is now generally called *Nootka Sound*, and which is in 49 deg. 38 min. N. lat. and 233 deg. 12 min. E. long. from *Greenwich*. Capt. *Cook*, having taken in water and refreshments, and got new masts for his ship, set sail again. On the 12th of May both ships ran into an inlet, which they named *Sandwich Sound*, now called *Prince William's Sound*; it was situated in about 60 deg. N. lat. and extended far into the land. Farther to the westward he found another *sound*, and a considerable river that emptied itself into it, which he named *Turnagain River*. As the coast began to trend to the south-west, and they met with many rocky islands along the coast, they were obliged to take every precaution possible to avoid being shipwrecked. Once, in a very thick fog, the *Resolution* was alarmed with a great noise; they threw out the lead, and immediately after anchored,

as did the *Discovery* likewise; and a few hours after, the fog clearing up, they found themselves in a deep harbour quite surrounded with rocks, between which they had passed in the dark: this they named *Providence Bay*, and found that it was in the island of *Oenalasbka*, an island discovered by the Russians, and situated in 54 deg. 18 min. N. lat. After a short stay, *Cook* pursued his course along the coast of America, and gave names to many points of land and bays, though for a great part of this track he was not able to get near the coast, on account of the shallowness of the sea. The halibuts (*Pleuronectes Hippoglossus*) and cod (*Gadus morrbua*) which they caught in such quantities, that they not only were enabled to provide an agreeable fresh food for the whole crew, but could also salt down several thousand pounds, served considerably to encrease their stock of provisions, which began to diminish very fast, and visibly to decay. At length Capt. *Cook* arrived on the coast of Asia, in 66 deg. 28 min. N. lat. and 188 deg. 3 min. E. long. from *Greenwich*, and then stood along this coast into the straits not far from thence, which separate Asia from America. These straits on the Asiatic side are inhabited by the *Tschuktschi*, who very frequently go over to the American coast, though they are likewise often at war with the inhabitants of those parts. As probably the North-Americans, when they peopled this part of the world, crossed the straits before the *Tschuktschi* did, these straits ought to be called after them; but as we are ignorant of the name of the tribe which crossed them first, and as besides the *Tschuktschi* are a savage and barbarous nation, these straits should perhaps be named after *Semen Deschnew*, a Cossack Chief (or *Kasatschia Golowa*) who in 1648 first went out of the *Kolyma* with two Siberian *Kotscbi* (a kind of ship) to the *Anadyr* and the *Olutora*, and consequently was the first who sailed through these straits: or perhaps after the Geodæst *Gwosdef*, who, in 1730, sailed between 65 and 66 deg. from the coast of the *Tschuktschi* to a foreign coast opposite to it. Nevertheless it would be still more proper to make this strait a

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kind

kind of monument to the very deserving and truly great navigator *Veit Bering*, by naming it, after him, *Bering's Straits*. And here again, in spite of the enmity with which I am falsely charged against my friend, the immortal *Cook*, I cannot refrain from putting in my caveat against the naming of this strait after him. His name will never be forgotten even though there were not already a strait called after him in the south. He knew perfectly well what was most suitable for himself. The straits he discovered in *New Zealand* he named after himself, *Cook's Straits*, as being the fruits of his own researches and perseverance. He was never used to reap where he had not sown, and consequently, had he lived, would have earnestly declined this honour so very officiously bestowed on him, which moreover belonged to a deserving predecessor of his; and indeed it is possible that he himself had determined to give the name of *Bering* to these straits. This digression I owe to myself. Had certain persons been satisfied with simply asserting, that they considered the name of *Cook's Straits* as preferable to that of *Bering's Straits*, by me proposed, I should, on my part, have contented myself with adducing the reasons for my conduct in this place, and left it to the public to judge which of us was in the right. But as my enemies still continue warmly to insist that it was my differences with Capt. *Cook* which determined my choice in the adoption of this name, I could not prevail on myself to pass this matter over in silence; and still less, as I have already explained myself concerning it many years ago, and nevertheless an opportunity seems to have been anxiously sought for again to obtrude this falsehood on the public. —But, to return to our subject. In the middle of the straits are three small islands. *Cook* ranged along the coast of America as far as 70 deg. 45 min. N. lat. and 198 deg. E. long. from *Greenwich*, when he found himself entirely surrounded by the ice, and prevented from either proceeding farther on to the northward, or even following the course of the coast; for

for the ice closed almost every where on a low desert point of land, which from this circumstance he called *Ice Cape*. After sailing for a few days along the edge of the ice, he came again to the Asiatic Coast, following the course of which, he soon got into the straits again. The whole sea in these straits, and beyond them, was far from being deep; neither was the land in that part very high, but more to the southward both the height of the land and the depth of the sea increased. Cook again came to *Oonalasbka*, in *Providence Bay*, which the inhabitants call *Samganvodba*; here he spoke with some Russians, whom he charged with letters for England, to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Board of Admiralty, and to Sir *James Harris*, at that time the English Ambassador at the Court of Russia. At this place also they caught abundance of salmon trout and halibuts, of which latter kind of fish they caught one that weighed 254lbs. Afterwards he made the best of his way back again to the *Sandwich Islands*, which he had discovered just before his arrival on this coast. Having explored these islands for the space of six weeks, he found them to be 15 in number*. Here they got every kind of refreshment necessary, and were extremely well received by the inhabitants, who almost paid divine honours to Capt. Cook. The Captain, after he had taken in refreshments, set sail again in the beginning of February; but the foremast of the *Resolution* having given way, he returned to the island of *Owhyhee*. But the reception they now met with from the inhabitants was quite different from what it had been before. At length the Discovery's cutter was stolen, which in such a voyage as that they were engaged in, they could not well do without. In consequence of this, Capt. Cook went to King *Terreeoboo*, in order to persuade him to go on board his ship, intending to keep him

* Capt. Cook himself, however, leaves this number undetermined. It will be sufficiently obvious to every reader that the above account of Capt. Cook's third voyage was written before the publication of the narrative written by himself and Capt. King.

there till the cutter should be restored. But the King being rather averse to go, and moreover one of their Chiefs having been shot by some of the people that had been sent out in the other boats, they began to pelt Capt. *Cook* with stones, who endeavoured to revenge the insult, but killed the wrong man. He now saw his danger, and began to hasten towards the boats; but one of the Chiefs stabbed him from behind between the shoulders with a large iron dagger, of which *Cook* himself had made him a present. *Cook* had, however, still strength enough left to push forward, but was beat to the ground with stones and tomahawks, and at last killed. Thus fell this truly glorious and justly-admired navigator.—If we consider his extreme abilities, both natural and acquired, the firmness and constancy of his mind, his truly paternal care for the crew entrusted to him, the amiable manner with which he knew how to gain the friendship of all the savage and uncultivated nations, and even his conduct towards his friends and acquaintance, we must acknowledge him to have been one of the greatest men of his age; and that Reason justifies the tear which Friendship pays to his memory. He was not free from faults, but these were more than counterbalanced by his superior qualities; and it is very unfortunate that on this last voyage he should have had no friend with him, who by his wisdom and prudence might have withheld and prevented him from giving vent to his passions, which in fact became so detrimental to himself, as to occasion his destruction. The young men that were with him must have been in some measure undisciplined and disorderly, otherwise he would not have lost his life. For the young officers in the boats having fired perhaps unnecessarily and prematurely, and thereby killed one of the *Eries* (or Chiefs) of these people, the death of this man stirred up in them the spirit of revenge which they vented on *Cook* in preference to another, imagining they had performed a very great action when they killed him.—Capt. *Clerke* now became the first in command, and Lieut. *Gare* second. Their first care was:

was for the security of such of their people as were at the observatory, as well as of those who were busied in repairing the mast, and others that were filling the water-casks. Being prevented from filling their casks by the throwing of stones and other acts of violence, they took vengeance on the natives for these outrages, and at the same time for the death of their great Commander; and, having provided themselves with every necessary, as also taken in more fresh provisions at the other islands, they sailed at first for some time westward, and then strait on to *Kamtshatka*, where, on the 30th of April, they entered the harbour of *Awatka*, or *St. Peter and Paul*, the *Resolution* being arrived there some days before. Here they got refreshments and stores of every kind, and got under sail again on the 12th of June, but could not get out of the bay on account of the wind being contrary. On the 15th they were surprized by the eruption of a volcano at the distance of about 8 leagues W. S. W. from them, but which nevertheless filled the whole atmosphere with ashes, that lay about an inch thick on their decks, and, after a dreadful noise, there fell a shower of pumice-stones, of the size of hazel nuts. In the evening they had thunder and lightning, and the next day they proceeded on their voyage. In their course they were never far from the shore; and they frequently saw drift-wood and whales. They sailed again through *Bering's Straits*, and fell in with the ice on the American side of them, beyond the 70th degree. It was solid and extended in large fields in a shallow sea, which was from 25 to 27 fathoms deep. They again saw a great number of sea-horses, some of which they killed, and to the eastward saw several white bears running on the ice. They saw also some albatrosses, and the ivory gull (*Larus eburneus*) which Capt. *Phipps* had also observed near *Spitzbergen*, as also the grey phalarope (*Tringa lobata*). They now went to the coast of Asia, and followed the course of it up to the straits, where they saw the islands

islands that lie in them; and the weather growing clear, they descried also the shores of both *Continents*, which are only at about 28 leagues asunder. Their ships being very leaky, and many of the crew on board both of them sickly, they resolved once more to run into the harbour of *St. Peter and Paul*, in *Kamtschatka*. Just in sight of this harbour died Captain *Clerke*, in the 38th year of his age. He was a man of great abilities. Having been bred up in the naval academy at *Portsmouth*, he was a midshipman in the war which began in 1756; and being in an engagement stationed in the mizen-top, the mast was shot away, and he fell overboard; the sailors were drowned, and he was the only one who escaped, having saved himself by the rigging and the sides of the ship. His first voyage round the world, he made with Commodore *Byron*, from the year 1764 to 1766; the second he made with Lieut. *Cook*, as master's mate, from 1768 to 1771. In his third voyage he went out as second Lieutenant with *Cook*, from the year 1772 to 1775; and this last voyage he made in the capacity of Captain. In his second voyage he calculated the tables for the *Ephemerides* for two years; he was also a very experienced and intrepid sea officer, of a sprightly disposition, almost bordering on levity, but blended with much benevolence and magnanimity. His juvenile extravagancies had enervated him to such a degree, that at length, in those cold regions, he sunk under manifold attacks of misery. Mr. *Gore* now took the command of the *Resolution*, and stationed Mr. *King* as Captain on board the *Discovery*. They took care of the sick on shore, repaired the ships, and, having well refreshed themselves, set sail again on the 9th of October, 1779, and following the course of the coast, passed by the Kurile Islands, descried *Japan*; after which they sailed through a considerable quantity of pumice-stone, and indeed between 25 deg. 56 min. and 23 deg. 56 min. saw a volcano, which to all appearance had thrown out these pumice stones. On the 1st of Dec. they arrived at *Macao*, where they procured some present refreshments, and also took some on board for their future occasions, and then set sail again on the 13th of January, 1780. On the

the 12th of April they reached *Simon's Bay* at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 9th of May, proceeding on their voyage, they arrived on the 22d of August at the *Orkneys*, and at length, on the 4th of October, at the *Nore*, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

XXXVIII. At the same time that this voyage was undertaken for the discovery of a passage to the northward between Asia and America, the Board of Admiralty sent Lieut. *Richard Pickersgill* in the brig *Lion*, to *Davis's Straits*, in order to try also on that side how far it might be possible to discover a passage there. But on this occasion the Admiralty committed more than one fault in the choice of their measures. Lieut. *Pickersgill* had made the voyage round the world in the capacity of midshipman under Capt. *Wallis*, from 1766 to 1768; afterwards he had been twice round the world with *Cook*, from 1769 to 1771, and 1772 to 1775; The first time as master's mate, and the second time as Lieutenant. He was well skilled in his profession, and, like *Cook*, *Clerke*, and many other officers of the British navy, was capable of making astronomical observations, and could, besides, lay down charts with great accuracy and exactness; but on two or three different occasions, when *Cook*, hurried away by his passion, had treated the Lieutenants and Midshipmen rather too harshly, and in a manner hardly fit for a gentleman to bear with, he had happened to express his opinion on the impropriety of such treatment. This, together with *Pickersgill's* being too fond of strong liquors, seems to be the reason of his never having been promoted, like his two first Lieutenants, to the post of Captain of the third rank, or *Master and Commander*. This soured *Pickersgill's* temper, and rendered him less zealous and attentive to the service, and induced him to seek oftener than ever to drown his cares in the bottle. The ship entrusted to his command had already been used by the Admiralty for several years for surveying the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. The name of the person to whom this business was committed was

Michael

Michael Lane; this office having been given him, when *Cook*, who till then had been employed to explore and make drawings of the coasts of Newfoundland, was sent to the South Sea. This *Lane* had consequently for many years the chief command of the *Lion*, and was now as master in the same ship, subordinate to Lieut. *Pickersgill*. This must naturally hurt *Lane*; two such dissatisfied and fretful shipmates must necessarily be torments and burthens to themselves; and the superior officer being withal of an open disposition, was very much exposed to his full-as-much dissatisfied but more close and circumspect subaltern, *Lane*. Diffensions happened frequently; *Pickersgill* made the other sensible that he was his Commander. *Lane* submitted in silence, but collected together a number of trifling circumstances, which afterwards when he made his complaints, subjected *Pickersgill* to a trial. The next year the command was taken from the latter and given to *Lane*. At length *Pickersgill* was entirely neglected by the Admiralty: in consequence of which he accepted the command of a privateer, and once, going on board his ship late in the evening, his foot slipped, and falling into the Thames, he was drowned. On the 10th of June, 1776, *Pickersgill* passed by the *Scilly Islands*. On the 29th of June, with 320 and 290 fathoms line, he found a sandy bottom in 56 deg. 38 min. N. lat. and 17 deg. 44 min. W. of *Greenwich*, which induced him to call that spot the *Lion's Bank*, and particularly so, as he found there, what is usually seen on all banks at sea, a vast quantity of sea-fowl, such as gulls, dumdivers, &c. &c. Soon after this, he could no longer get any soundings, nor were there any more fowls to be seen. On the 7th of July he was off *Cape Farewell*, and on the 12th, off *Cape Desolation*. He now ranged along the coast of *Greenland*. On the 17th he entered an inlet, which he named *Muskito Cove*, situated in 64 deg. 57 min. N. lat. and 52 deg. 56½ min. W. long. from *Greenwich*. In 59 deg. 30 min. W. long. and 65 deg. 38 min. N. lat. he found himself near a very large field of ice, and
behind

behind it saw something that had the appearance of land. On the 4th of August, at midnight, he was in 68 deg. 14 min. N. lat. and 58 deg. 50 min. W. long, and saw every where great quantities of ice, which made him by degrees tack about and stand to the southward. On the 18th he saw land appearing like islands, in 65 deg. 3 min. N. lat. and 54 deg. 2 min. W. long. and they caught a considerable quantity of halibuts. After this he went to the coast of *Labrador*, from whence he set sail on the 26th of September, and at last arrived safe in England.

XXXIX. *Pickersgill* having, in consequence of his dispute with *Lane*, lost the command of the *Lion*, Lord *Sandwich* was pleased to give it to the latter*, who in 1777, was sent out on the same discovery, and came back without having discovered, as far as I know, a passage or any thing like it†. The history of these voyages being on the eve of being published under the inspection of the Board of Admiralty, we shall probably obtain more particular information concerning the expeditions of *Pickersgill* and *Lane*. The object of Government in these two expeditions was, that if by good fortune a passage should be discovered on one side, the two expeditions might possibly meet, and co-operate with each other.

Although the English have for these last 200 years expended considerable sums upon these discoveries, they have nevertheless not been fortunate in their undertakings. To the British nation this passage, in case it be possible to bring it about, would be of infinite advantage, and would be alone sufficient, provided they could keep it entirely to themselves, to extend their trade far beyond that of all Europe besides.

* We know from better authority, that it was given to Capt. *Young*. Vide Introduction to Cook's last Voyage.

† This again is a mistake; for we are assured that "*Pickersgill* was not to attempt *then* the discovery of the passage, being directed only to explore the coasts of *Baffin's Bay*. Ibid.

C H A P. II.

Of the Discoveries made in the North by the Dutch.

PHILIP II. of Spain, having cruelly oppressed his subjects in the Netherlands, with respect to their religious and civil liberties, these poor oppressed people, who had no other choice left but death or slavery, were inspired with the resolution of defending their rights and liberties, which in this case were the rights of mankind in general, to the utmost of their power. At the same time they saw very plainly that the surest means of resisting the power of Spain, which was at that time so formidable and extensive, and likewise of procuring themselves the means and force requisite for so very expensive an opposition, would be to discover a way to the Indies, where they might not only have it in their power to attack their enemies, but likewise to enrich themselves. The usual way to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, was on the one hand very long, and on the other, the Spanish and Portuguese, both of whom were at that time subject to the same master, had got possession of all the places in which it was possible to find refreshments and water, or where, in case of need, there was a good harbour. Consequently there were no other means left to go to the Indies, according to the way of thinking of those times, than to discover a new route that would lead thither. Now the English having already made many attempts since the year 1553 to find a passage by the north to Kathay and India, it was natural for the Dutch, too, considering the zeal, activity, and courage they were at that time possessed of, to think at an early period of seeking

ing for this passage. So that interest and the powerful motive of revenge were the principal inducements with those merchants of the United Provinces, who first set on foot these voyages of discovery; and though none of the voyages were successful, as the Dutch soon after went to the Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and acquired advantages there far beyond their expectations, yet it cannot be denied, that the Dutch have in former times contributed, next to the English, more than any other nation, to the knowledge of the different countries and nations of the north.

I. *Balthazar Moucheron*, a merchant of Middleburg, in Zealand, proposed, that a new passage should be attempted to *Kathay* and *Japan* by the north. So early as in 1593 some merchants formed an association for the purpose of fitting out a ship from *Zealand*. To this association acceded some more merchants from *Enkhuyzen* and *Amsterdam*, who all together, with the concurrence of their High Mightinesses the States General, and of Maurice, Prince of Orange and Nassau, as High Admiral, fitted out three ships. The vessel sent from Zealand was called the *Swan*, that from Enkhuyzen the *Mercury*, and that from Amsterdam the *Boot*, or *Messenger*. The command of the first was given to *Cornelis Cornelijson Nay*, who likewise was appointed Admiral on this expedition; *Brand Ysbrands*, or *Tetgales*, was Captain of the Enkhuyzen vessel; and *Wilhelm Barentz*, of *Schelling*, was Captain of the ship from Amsterdam. This last is described as being a very sensible and active man, who had a perfect knowledge of navigation. *Gerard* (Gerrit) *de Veere* wrote the history of *Barentz's* voyage, and *John Hugh van Linschoten* gave the relation of the adventures of the Zealand and Enkhuyzen ships. *Barentz* had, besides his own vessel, a fishing yacht with him from *Schelling*, which was to accompany him, in case he should part from the other ships. On the 5th of June, 1594, these ships, the Amsterdammer excepted, set sail together. On the 23d of June they arrived at *Kilduyn*, in Finmark, or the Russian Lapland. By the 29th *Barentz* had got under sail, and it was agreed

that they should meet again at *Kilduyn*, in case they did not see each other near *Waigatz*. At *Kilduyn* there is a good cod-fishery. The other ships set sail on the 2d of July. On the 4th they were 26 leagues from *Kolgoy*, where there was a great quantity of ice and of seals. All over this part of the sea they had 50, 60, and 65 fathoms depth of water. On the 14th of July they chased a young whale until they had driven it on shore. The length of it was 34 feet, the tail 8 feet broad, and it had 268 rays in the breast fins. The weather was as warm as it usually is in Holland in the dog-days; and they were much tormented by the gnats. From *Swætoinoßs* to the *Petßchora* the water of the sea is thick and muddy, and but little salt, on account of the great quantity of melted snow which it contains. They met with drift-wood in abundance. On the coast of the island of *Waijats* there are great heaps of wood, and large trees, and some even with their roots on, lying one upon the other, as if they had been piled up on purpose. Seeing no trees grow here, they concluded that this large collection of them must have come from the continent. They observed that the face of the country was covered with a fine verdure, and embellished with all sorts of herbs, flowers, and abundance of leeks. The weather was hot, and the gnats very troublesome. They had passed between the island of *Waijats* and the southern island, and now sought for a passage also to the southward of the island. They found a land, which they took for an island, and on it upwards of 3 or 400 Idols: some were male, others female, others represented children, on others again appeared from four to eight faces, both male and female. These Idols all stood with their faces towards the east, and at their feet lay a great quantity of the horns of reindeer. Some of these Idols were old and quite rotten; others had been newly carved, whence it appears probable to me that the Samojedes, who used to rove about these parts, had carved the images above-mentioned, in remembrance of their parents, wives, and children, but not with any intent to worship them as Idols. The
nations

nations in the South Sea we found had on the sepulchral monuments of their princes the same kind of carved images of both sexes, in memory of the deceased, which they called *Tibbi*, or *Souls*; and also used to set victuals before them. The Dutch thought these images were Idols, and thence named the promontory on which they found them, *Afgodenboek*, or the *Cape of Idols*. But the Russians do not seem to have considered them in so serious a light; for the appellation of *Waijati-nofs*, the *Promontory of Images*, or *Carved Promontory*, plainly shews, that they did not take them for Idols: and upon the whole, a period of more than 228 years having elapsed since the Russians first saw these images, (viz. in 1556) and named the promontory after them, may easily have caused some alteration in the manners of these people. At present they have one supreme God, who is good, and one subaltern bad one. The *Koedefnicks*, or *Tadebes*, a kind of Priests or favourites of the evil spirit, advise them, to carry about them a certain kind of small idols, of which, however, they otherwise take but little notice. Perhaps the Russians, who first discovered the Samojedes, may have shewn their dislike of these supposed Idols, and may even have expressed this dislike very emphatically; for religious zeal is sometimes apt to break out into threats, and even violence: and hence the *Koesdeniks* may have advised them no longer to have such large images, to avoid giving offence to the Russians; but rather small ones, which they might carry about them, and which consequently not being so easily seen by the Russians, they would not be so liable to incur their displeasure. Thus far is certain, that when *Burrough* explored *Nova Zembla* in 1556, he then heard the name of *Waijat*, or *Waigatz*, from *Leschak*, who was a native of Russia; consequently the Dutch were not the first who discovered it *. The ice here gave the Dutch not a little trouble.

The

* The real *Waaigat Strait*, which is also called *Hinkopen*, is near Spitzbergen, and is situated between the real Spitzbergen and the eastern part of it (which is also called *New Friesland*, and *Sudoesterland*)

The Dutch landed on the southern shore of the strait, but had nearly been cut off by some savages. Afterwards they conversed again with some other Samojedes, who, however, understood the Russian tongue. The sea beyond the strait was in quality, colour, and taste, like the ocean. They sailed along the coast of *Nova Zembla*, and saw neither inlet nor harbour. The great quantity of ice here obliged them to turn back; but when it was somewhat dispersed, they sailed on again, and by the time that they had got to the distance of 40 leagues from *Waigatz*, they met with a deep blue sea and but little ice: they also saw the coast, beyond a certain point trending more towards the south--east, and consequently towards China. Having discovered this, they sailed back in order to be the first to carry this good news to Holland. They sailed again through *Waigatz*, which they named *Nassau Strait*, and to an island that lay just before *Waigatz* they gave the name of *Staaten Island*. *Dolgoi-Ostrov* they called *Mauritius*; to a small island near it they gave the name of *Orange Island*, and to the continent that of *New Walcheren*. They then crossed over the gulph which leads to the White Sea, passed by *Kilduyn*, and ran into *Wardhuys*, from whence they finally made the best of their way to Holland, and the Admiral turning off towards Zealand, they ran into the *Texel*, and arrived on the 26th of September at *Enkhuysen*.

Barentz, who had taken quite a different course, arrived off the coast of *Nova Zembla* on the 4th of July, near a point of land to which they gave the name of *Langenefs*, and which is somewhat to the westward of that body of water, which divides the whole island of *Nova Zembla*. They ranged along the coast, and gave to a bay there the name of *Loms Bay*, from the great quantity of birds they saw there of this

Sudosterland) and the island called the *Nordosterland*. This name has, in fact, been given to the strait by Spitzbergen, on account of the violence with which the south wind blows there; for *waaien*, means to blow violently, and *gat*, means a strait, gap, or hole; consequently it might be translated, *windhole*. But the Russian *Waijat* has another origin. Vide Note to page 273.

name.

name. The bodies of these birds are of a considerable size, and their wings very small: they build their nests on very high and steep mountains, in order to secure themselves against the wild beasts; and lay but one egg, which you may take from them, without the parent's offering to fly away. Then they came to an island, which they named the *Admiralty Island*. In 75 deg. 20 min. N. lat. there was a promontory, which they called *Zwartenboek* (Black Point) and in 75 deg. 55 min. was *William's Island*. Here they found drift-wood and sea-horses in abundance. The harbour beyond William's Island, where they killed a white bear, was named *Berenfort*. On a certain island they found two large crosses, a circumstance which occasioned them to name it *Cross Island*. A point of land in 76 deg. 30 min. they named *Cape Nassau*. From thence they went on to *Troostboek* (Comfort Point) and *Ijsboek* (Icy Point) and to the *Orange Islands*. Here turning back again, they sailed past all the before-named places, till they came to an island lying beyond *Langeness* to the south-west, to which, on account of its colour, they gave the name of the *Black Island*. From hence Barentz proceeded to an *inlet*, which he supposed to be the same place at which *Oliver Bennel* had been before, and to which he had given the name of *Constant Search* *. On a promontory somewhat farther on, they saw a cross, and thence named it *Cruysboek* (Cross Point). Then he came to an *inlet* named *St. Laurenzboek*, and 3 miles farther to another named *Schanshoek* (or Fort Point). Proceeding still farther, they discovered a fine safe harbour, where they

* It is evident that the navigators mentioned here, who had been in *Nova Zembla* previous to *Barentz's* arrival there, were Englishmen; for the name *Oliver Bennel* is entirely English, and the name of the inlet, which *Barentz* calls *Constant Search*, can hardly be supposed to have been any other than *Constant Search*; but in which of the known voyages of the English into these parts, this place was thus named, or whether *Oliver Bennel* made a voyage for the sole purpose of making discoveries, or was cast away here in his way to other regions, cannot easily be determined for want of proper information on this subject,

found some meal or flour on shore, and thence named it *Meelhaven* (Flour-haven). At length they saw two small islands, to which they gave the name of the *Islands of St. Clare*. Being come to the islands of *Matfeoi* and *Dolgoy*, they saw the Zealand and Enkhuyfen ships which were just returned from *Waigatz*; and the people on board of which imagined, that *Barentz* had sailed round *Nova Zembla*. After rejoicing with each other at their happy meeting, they sailed home together,

II. A. D. 1595, seven ships were fitted out, viz. two at Amsterdam, two at Zealand, two at Enkhuyzen, and one at Rotterdam. On the 2d of July they sailed out of the Downs. On the 17th of August they found ice in large flakes. On the 18th they saw *Mauritius Island* (or *Dolgoy Ostrof*). On the 19th they were opposite *Waigatz Straits*, but found them blocked up by the ice. They waited in some inlets in and before the straits; but the ice continued for a long time, and on the 2d and 3d of September, being arrived off *Staaten Island*, they were obliged, on account of the ice and fogs, to run in at the back of the island. In a general council it was resolved, that they should make another attempt to get forward. Every night the ice froze at least an inch thick. They saw two hares on the island, which they killed; but a white bear, which they also saw, escaped. The tide came from the east, for which reason they imagined there was a large sea that way. On *Staaten Island* they found small transparent crystals; but, in seeking for them, two of their people were devoured by a white bear. By reason of the ice they were obliged to go within the straits as far as *Twistboek*. On the 11th they resolved to make one more trial, but in a few hours found it necessary to tack about again, on account of the ice which obstructed their course. On the 15th it was determined in a general council to return, it being impossible to get through the straits on account of the ice. Having suffered much from storms and
bad

bad weather, they were by the 10th of October to the south-west of *Waardbuys*. It was but seldom that they saw the moon. The light of the stars nearly compensated for the want of the sun; and besides that, the *Aurora Borealis* contributed much to light them. At length, on the 26th, they arrived again in their native country.

III. Notwithstanding that the States General had refused to advance the money requisite for defraying the expences of another voyage, this did not deter the City of *Amsterdam* from fitting out two ships in 1596. The chief command of them was given to *Jacob von Heemskerck*, and the place of first pilot to *William Barentz*. In the second ship *Jan Cornelis Ryp* was master, and, at the same time, supercargo of the merchandize on board of her. On the 18th of May they sailed out of the *Vlie*, and on the 22d saw the Shetland Islands and *Fayerbill*. On the 2d of June they saw two parahelia, or mock suns, in 71 deg. N. lat. A dispute now arose between *Barentz* and *Ryp*, concerning the course the ships were to take. The first was of opinion that they ought to sail more to the eastward; but *Ryp* maintained that they were in the right course; for all along he was against sailing to *Waigatz Straits*. On the 5th, they for the first time saw ice, and passed safely through it. On the 9th they saw an island in 74 deg. 30 min. which they conjectured might be about 15 miles in length. Here they met with a great number of gulls, and brought away their eggs. They ascended a steep mountain of snow, and were obliged to slide down it again. They likewise saw a large white bear, which it took them two hours to kill. The skin of this animal was 12 feet long; some of the crew ate part of the flesh, but it did not agree with them. This island they called *Bear Island*. On the 17th and 18th they saw a great quantity of ice; and sailed along it till they came to a point of land that lay to the southward of it. On the 19th they saw land again, and found that they were in 80 deg. 11 min. It was an

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extensive

extensive country, and they sailed along the western coast of it to 79 deg. 30 min. where they found a good road, but were prevented by the ice from going nearer to the land; they anchored, however, in a bay that stretched right north and south into the sea. Here again they killed a large bear which was 13 feet long. On one island they found a great many barnacles (*Anas Bernicla*) one of which they killed with a stone, and got upwards of 60 eggs. On this island they observed in the 80th deg. of N. lat. grass and clover growing, and reindeer feeding on it, while, on the contrary, all the animals in *Nova Zembla*, which is situated far more to the southward, were of the carnivorous kind, because no grass grows there. The variation here was 16 degrees. They sailed along the land to 79 degrees, and discovered a large inlet, 30 miles long at least, but were obliged to tack about. On the 28th they came to the point which is on the west side, where they found so great a number of birds, that these latter even flew against their sails. On the 1st of July they again saw *Bear Island*. *Jan Cornelis Ryp* came on board their ship, and told them that he intended to sail along the east side of the land to the 80th deg. *Barentz*, on the contrary, went to the southward on account of the ice. On the 17th of July they discovered *Nova Zembla*, not far from the shores of *Loms Bay*. On the 20th they went ashore on *Cross-Island*, where they found two crosses erected. They went up to the crosses in order to examine them; but being without arms, this curiosity had nearly cost them their lives, for two bears had taken a fancy to them, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they escaped these voracious animals. On the 17th of August they were near *Troostboek*, about which there was a great quantity of ice. On the 19th they sailed round *Cape Desire*, where they plainly saw the land trending to the southward. This ship was in great danger from the ice, being, in fact, quite encompassed by it; and they were obliged to carry provisions on shore, and prepare for the winter. They shot at a bear, but the cold was so intense, that the shot did not take place. They found

found a river, and a great quantity of drift-wood. On the 15th of September the sea froze two inches thick. On the 16th the same, and they fetched wood upon sledges for the purpose of building up their habitation. On the 2d of October the materials for the hut were ready, but they could not get into the ground, which was frozen so hard, that they could not even thaw it by means of fire. They therefore heaped snow round about their house, in order to make it tolerably warm, as also to secure it against the wind. Their beer, too, was frozen, even the strong Dantzick *Joppen beer*. They suffered greatly from the cold, and were continually at war with the bears. They roasted a white fox, which tasted like a rabbit. On the 3d of November they lost sight of the sun; the bears kept away likewise, but the foxes began to make their appearance. Neither did the bears return till the sun appeared again. The foxes they caught in traps. On the 7th of December they had nearly all been choaked by the smoke of pit-coal. The cold now increased to a dreadful degree. On the 24th of January they saw for the first time the face of the sun again, which, for more than a fortnight before this, had been ushered in by a kind of twilight. They were astonished at this phenomenon; as, according to their calculations, it should have happened about 16 days later. But, in fact, it ought to have been just so as it was. In those regions the refraction of the rays of the sun is so considerable on account of the air containing such a great quantity of vapours, that this phenomenon is very possible. Not being provided with a sufficient stock of wood, they were obliged to get in more with incredible pains and labour, the drift-wood being all covered with snow. About this time they saw the sea open, and began to entertain some hopes of their deliverance. But on the 14th of February the east north-east winds brought on another frost, which depressed the spirits of these poor people, and drove them almost to despair. On the 8th and 9th of March, the wind blowing from the south-west,

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drove

drove the ice away ; but on the 10th a very strong north-east wind brought back again enormous fields, and mountains of ice. In the months of April and May the sea was at length entirely clear of the ice, and they began to think on their voyage home. In the month of June they fitted out the boats for their return, and were frequently visited by the bears, many of which they killed. Some of the crew having eat part of the liver of a bear, it made them very ill, and after they recovered from their disorder, the skin all over their bodies fell off in scales. Having brought away all the stores and provisions they could convey on-board their two little vessels, they set sail on the 14th of June, having *Barentz* and one of the crew sick on board. They were again encompassed by the ice, and *Barentz*, together with one *Nicholas Andreifs*, died on the 20th. They came often into great danger between the ice. They also lost a considerable quantity of provisions and merchandize ; nevertheless they got their vessels over the ice into the water, though not without great difficulty, and begun to sail on a sea tolerably clear of it. They landed now and then to look for birds and eggs, as also for fuel to dress them by. Not far from *Waigatz* they found two small vessels with Russians, some of whom remembered several of the crew, having met with them on their former voyages. With great difficulty they arrived at length at *Kandnoes* (*Kanyn nofs*) and also got some provisions from some Russian vessels, but were separated from the small boat by a storm. In the mean time they sailed with their small open boat in 30 hours across the mouth of the White Sea, which is 120 miles broad : here they lighted on a Russian bark and some fishermen, from whom they got provisions, and immediately after, met with their comrades again in the other boat. They arrived at *Kilduyn*, where they learned that three Dutch ships were then at
Kola.

Kala, two of which were just ready to fail. They sent two sailors there with a Laplander, and in three days received a letter from Capt. *Jan Cornelis Ryp*, informing them, that they had long ago been given up as lost. *Cornelis Ryp* went to them with refreshments, and took them to *Kola* to his ship, when they went with him, to the number of 12, back to Holland, and reached Amsterdam on the 1st of November, 1597.

From the relation of this voyage it is evident that *Heemskerck*, *Barentz*, and *Ryp*, had so early as in the year 1595 discovered Bear Island, which was since seen by the English in 1603, who gave it the name of *Cherry Island*, and afterwards frequently visited it. In like manner *Hudson*, in 1607, saw *Spitzbergen*, which had been discovered 11 years before by the Dutch, and which he erroneously took for part of Greenland. Hence is manifest the difficulty of getting on in the shallow sea that lies to the northward of Siberia, on account of the ice; as well as the effects of an intense degree of cold (which are very evidently such, that even the water of the sea will freeze over in one night) as also the extreme coldness and long duration of the easterly winds within the Polar Circle. The wonderful effect of the refraction of the sun's rays, by means of which the image of the sun appears above the horizon, even whole weeks sooner than it otherwise would according to the ordinary course of nature, may be considered as another of the many instances of the tender care of the Almighty over all his creatures, in thus restoring the light of the day as early as possible to the inhabitants of these regions; a kindness of which we in this part of the world cannot be so sensible, having never experienced the privation of the day-light, and of the all-enlivening light of the sun.

IV. In the year 1609 *Henry Hudson* set sail with a yacht, fitted out at the expence of the Dutch East-India Company. He left the *Texel* on the 6th of April. By the 5th of May he was off the *North Cape*,
and

and soon after reached *Nova Zembla*, where he found the whole country blocked up with firm and solid ice. He therefore left this coast on the 14th of May, and discovered on the coast of America a river, which is still named after him, *Hudson's River*, on the mouth of which is *New-York*; and somewhat higher up used to be *New Belgium*, which the Dutch had formerly actually colonized. But with regard to discoveries in the north, Hudson's voyage was entirely fruitless.

V. The island of *Jan Mayen* was discovered in 1611 by a man of this name. It is situated about 71 deg. N. lat. and 8 deg. 15 min. E. long. from *Ferro*. It is long and narrow, and stretches from north-east to south-west. As the whales used sometimes to come from Old Greenland near the coast of this island, there were formerly a whale-fishery and a manufactory for train-oil upon it; likewise a great number of white bears, sea-horses, and other marine animals, together with some foxes. But the island being rather small, and the bait on it, or the whale carrion, but scarce, the fish soon found out their enemies, and withdrew to the ice, where they enjoy more security. Accordingly this fishery was chiefly used from 1611 to 1633, but since that time the island has been gradually neglected. At present it is seen or visited only by mere chance. It was once, in honour to Prince Maurice of Nassau, named *Mauritius Island*, in *Greenland*; but then we must be careful to distinguish it from another *Mauritius Island* on the north-west point of *Spitzbergen*, which also bears the name of *Amsterdammer Island*, and is by the English called *Hackluyt's Headland*. On this *Mauritius Island*, in *Greenland*, or *Jan Mayen Island*, seven sailors were left to winter, from 1633 to 1634, all of whom, however, died, chiefly of the scurvy. Their journal was brought down to the 30th of April, soon after which period probably they died; for the people who arrived there from Holland, on the 7th of June, 1634, found them already dead.

VI. In

VI. In the Philosophical Transactions, No. 118, we find an account of some merchants in Holland having sent out ships, which had sailed on to 79 and 80 deg. N. lat. 100 leagues to the eastward of and beyond *Nova Zembla*, and had met with an open sea, clear of any ice. Now, at the 80th deg. one degree of longitude is only 10 geographical miles. But one hundred leagues are 300 common English sea miles; consequently the Dutch were not at the farthest, quite 30 degrees to the eastward of the most easterly point of *Nova Zembla*, perhaps about *Chatanga*, in 125 deg. E. long. from *Ferro*, which is in fact no great matter, and did not render it necessary for this discovery to be concealed with such care as we are informed it was.

VII. Some individuals, who were desirous of continuing the navigations to the north, presented in 1614 a petition to their High Mightinesses the States General, praying to be established in a free navigation to the northward of Davis's Straits, Greenland, Spitzbergen, and *Nova Zembla*; which privilege was accordingly conferred upon them by a charter bearing date the 27th of January, 1614; and from that time there has subsisted the Northern, or, as it is otherwise called, Spitzbergen or Greenland Company, which used yearly to send ships out to the Polar regions, employed in the whale-fishery and killing seals. It cannot, however, be asserted, that any important discoveries have been made in the north by this Greenland Company; for these associated merchants were satisfied with the moderate profits arising to them from the whale-fishery and the killing of seals.

VIII. In 1633 the Dutch Northern Company sent their ships out as usual to Spitzbergen, but gave orders withal, that some volunteer sailors should be left by their own consent at Spitzbergen, to winter there; for which purpose likewise several offered themselves, who passed the winter there, but suffered greatly by the cold. They had many skirmishes with the bears, shot some reindeer, caught and ate
several

several foxes, killed a sea-horse or two, prepared some whalebone that had been cast on shore by the tide, but did not kill one whale, and returned safe to Holland in 1634. They had wintered in the north bay on *Mauritius Island* (or Hackluyt's Headland) near Spitzbergen. That same year again seven more sailors were left on the island, by their own consent, but died of the scurvy in 1635. Their journal was brought down to the 26th of February only, and in 1635 they were all found dead. Since that time no more men have been left to winter there.

IX. A. D. 1640, or 1645, *Ryke Yse*, from *Vlieland*, an old Greenland trader, came, on the east side of Spitzbergen, to a group of very small islands, which had never yet been seen nor frequented by any of the former navigators to Greenland, and having always been very fond of shooting sea-horses, the immense number of these animals that lay here on the shore, furnished him with an opportunity of displaying his own skill in the disposition and arrangement of the business, as well as the dexterity of his people. In a short space of time, many hundreds of them were killed, and great profit was made of the fat and the teeth.

X. In the year 1643, the Dutch East-India Company gave orders for two ships to be sent from India to the north, in order to explore the route from Japan northward, and even to go as far as to North-America, and to seek for the passage there. In consequence of these orders, two ships set sail together on the 3d of February, 1634, from the harbour of the island of *Ternate*; these were the *Castricom*, commanded by Captain *Martin Herizoom van Vriez*; and the *Breskes*, under the command of Capt. *Hendrick Cornelis Schaeep*. On the 14th of May the two ships were separated by a storm at the distance of 56 leagues from *Jeddo*, the capital of *Japan*; and both of them saw the land of *Jeso*. The *Breskes* sailed through the strait between *Jeso* and *Japan*, in 41 deg. 50 min. N. lat. and in long. 164 deg. 18 min. east of *Teneriffe*. They saw land again in 43 deg. 4 min. N lat. In 44 deg. 4 min. some vessels came off to their ship from the shore.

In 43 deg. 45 min. they descried land again, as also in the latitude of 44 deg. 12 min. and longitude 167 deg. 21. min. In lat. 45 deg. 12 min. and long. 169 deg. 36 min. the land appeared at a distance like a great number of islands; but on coming nearer to it, it seemed to be one continued tract of country. In lat. 46 deg. 15 min. and long 172 deg. 16 min. as also in long. 172 deg. 53 min. they had sight of some high mountains. They also saw still more land in lat. 47 deg. 8 min. and long. 173 deg. 53 min. We see from this relation, as well as from that of the *Casricom*, that the island Jesse contains, in fact, a quantity of islands, at present known to the Russians under the name of the Kuriles. The Dutch imagined they had discovered in *Jeso*, a large extensive country, and, in the latest accounts we have from the Russians *, this description likewise is given of the land of *Matmai*, in which the Dutch mention that there is a place named *Acqueis*, which the Russians call *Atkis*. The strait between *Matmai* and Japan is about 60 wersts (or 34 geographical miles) broad; and has a very strong current, as have almost all the straits between the Kurile Islands. *Matmai* is a town in the possession of the *Japanese*; the *Chinese* trade also to the land of *Matmai*; but the hairy Kuriles are a free people. It is also still uncertain whether *Matmai* is an island or not. But there is a probability that it is, as the inhabitants have not yet been made tributary by the Chinese; which is also confirmed by Father *Hieronymus de Angelis*, who mentions the strait of *Tessoi*, which separates *Matmai* from the continent, and has also a strong, rapid current. This country seems to have got the name of *Jeso*, or *Eso*, from the people who inhabit it. The Japanese call the Kuriles *Jeso*, and it is thence that the land of *Matmai* has obtained this appellation from the Portuguese and Dutch. The land with the *St. Anthony's Peak*, described in the journal of *Casricom*, seems to be the island *Iterpu*, or *Etorpu*, which, according to the latest accounts (Vid.

* Pallas's New Northern Collections, Vol. IV. page 136. (German).

Palla's Northern Collections, Vol. IV. page 133) consists entirely of a high ridge of mountains with many heads. In this case *Urup* must be the Staaten Island of the Dutch; in like manner, *Tschirpo-oi* will answer to *Company Land*, and the strait between *Urup* and *Tschirpo-oi* will be the *Straits of Van Vriez*. On the Kurile Islands there are many volcanos, some of which are still burning, others are already extinct, while others, quite new ones, are frequently bursting forth into flames, like that which made an eruption on the 8th of January, 1780, on the island of *Rachkoke*, or *Rakchotki*, the effects of which caused likewise a dreadful earthquake, and which occasioned great ravages and devastations in the islands of *Ketoi*, *Schimuschir*, *Tschirpo-oi*, and *Urup*. Now, though we should allow the authenticity of the accounts of the Dutch, who in the *Castricom* and *Breskes*, imagined that they saw here one continued and extensive tract of land, it cannot nevertheless be denied, that these numerous volcanos give one room to suppose, that many an entire and undivided tract of country may have been torn asunder by earthquakes, and parcelled out into small islands. So that what we read in the relations of the *Castricom* and the *Breskes* does not appear to me so very incredible.

XI. At the time when the Northern Company in Holland was still in the fullness of her splendor, (viz. from 1614 to 1641) a ship was dispatched to Greenland for the purpose of fetching train-oil, which used to be manufactured in *Sewerenberge*; but there being not a sufficient quantity ready to complete the full lading, the Captain finding the sea quite open, sailed straight on to the northward, and at the distance of two degrees from it, went twice round it. This he used to relate publicly, and to refer to his crew as witnesses of the fact. Vid. *Zorgdrager's Greenland Whale-Fishery* (German) Vol. II. chap. 10, page 162.—*Wood* also, as he himself informs us, was told by Mr. *Joseph Moxon*, in 1676, that being in Holland about 20 years before, (consequently in 1656) he had heard a very respectable creditable Dutch

Captain of a ship say, that he had navigated under the very Pole, where he found the weather as warm as it used to be at Amsterdam in summer. In fine, Capt. *Goulden* likewise, who had made upwards of 20 voyages to Greenland, told King Charles the Second that, being about 20 years before in Greenland, he found himself with two Dutch Greenland navigators near *Edges Island* *, to the eastward of that country, when no whales appearing near the shore, the two Dutch Captains resolved to sail farther on towards the north; which in fact they did, and a fortnight afterwards returned, and related that they had been as far as the 89th degree, and had met with no ice, but with a free and open sea, with large and hollow waves, as in the bay of Biscay. The variation of the compass there was 5 degrees. One of these Captains afterwards happened to go to England, when Captain *Gould* took him to some of the Members of the Northern Company, whom he fully convinced of the truth of his relation. Vide *An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries*. Lond. 1711, p. 145; as also the *Hon. Mr. Boyle's History of Cold*.

XII. It is the lamentable fate of the learned not to be able, with all their pains, to obtain the information they would wish with respect to all the objects of their researches. In the best charts we find some accounts, or rather hints, relative to countries pretended to be discovered by the Dutch; but it is a very difficult matter to determine where more particular and circumstantial accounts concerning them are to be met with. I shall now mention four or five countries discovered by

* *Edge's Island* is probably one of the islands belonging to that group discovered by *Ryke Yfe*. Capt. *Thomas Edge*, who made 10 voyages to Greenland, discovered this island A. D. 1616; and in 1617, an island lying off *Spitsbergen*, was, after Mr. *Wyche*, called *Wyche's Island*.

the Dutch in the North, concerning which I can communicate little more than their names. I possess a collection of about 700 volumes of voyages, written in various languages, nevertheless I must confess, that in all these I have not been able to find out any thing that has the least relation to these discoveries: perhaps this my acknowledgment may induce some learned man or other to favour me with some information concerning them, to whom I shall, in that case, be infinitely obliged, for having thereby furnished me not only with the means of adding to the stock of my own knowledge, but also of rendering my History of the Discoveries in the North, much more complete than it is at present; for I readily confess, that even in my own opinion, my work has not attained to that state of perfection to which I had purposed to bring it, but from the accomplishment of which I have been hindered by a thousand difficulties, impossible for me to overcome in my present situation. In 75 deg. N. lat. and about 5 deg. E. long. from Ferro, we find on the eastward coast of *Greenland*, *Gale Hamkens Land*, which is said to have been seen in 1654. *Gale Hamkens* was a Dutch Greenland trader, who as early as the year 1639 had the command of the first-rate ship, the *Oranjeboom*, and who, when Capt. *Dirk Alberts Raven* had lost his ship the *Spitsbergen*, in the ice near *Spitsbergen*, took up the said Captain and the few people remaining of his crew; and this is all I know about him. So that whether he discovered this point of land himself, or any other navigator has given it this name in honour of him, I confess I am not able to determine. In 78 deg. N. lat. and 10 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land is laid down on the eastward coast of Greenland, which is called the *Land of Edam*. It was discovered in 1655, but by whom, as also whether it was named thus, after a man, a ship, or after the town of *Edam*, in North Holland, I cannot pretend to say. Farther we find,

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in 73 deg. 30 min. N. lat. not far from the first meridian drawn through Ferro, an island over which is written the name of *Bontekoe*, with the date of the year 1665; the first discoverer of which I am likewise unacquainted with; neither can I determine the question, whether it was named *Bontekoe*, after its discoverer, or after a ship, or any man of that country. Again, there is in 79 deg. N. lat. and 10 deg. E. long. from Ferro, a land marked with the date of 1670; but this is all that I know concerning it. Finally, precisely in 80 deg. N. lat. and 100 geographical miles to the east of *Northeastland* in Spitzbergen, there is to be seen the mark of a high land. This land was discovered in 1707 by an experienced and skilful Greenland trader, by name *Cornelis Gillis*. He had sailed, without seeing any ice at all, to the northward of the *Seven Islands*, a great way beyond the 81st deg. then he sailed eastward, and at last south-eastward, so that he always kept to the east of Northeast-land, and at length at 25 leagues from thence in 80 deg. descried a very high land, which probably nobody had ever seen before him. *Van Keulen* has laid down this land in his map of Spitzbergen, merely on the strength of the account given of it by Capt. *Gillis*. Vide *Barrington's Miscellanies*. Lond. 1781. 4to. pages 80 and 85.

These are all the accounts of the discoveries made in the north by the Dutch, that have ever come to my knowledge. That active public spirit, by means of which the Republic of the United Netherlands rose to its present pitch of grandeur, and by which all their enterprizes in the 16th and 17th centuries were so strongly characterized, is by degrees evaporated and spent. They have begun to pursue a system diametrically opposite to that which led them to fame, dignity, and honour. That contemptible spirit of party in matters of religion and politicks which occupies itself only with trifling objects, thereby

neglecting those that are truly grand and important ; that false system, in pursuance of which, sacrificing every thing to commerce, the Republic has endeavoured to remain neuter, and, in defiance of the most solemn treaties and conventions, has frequently refused that assistance to her allies for which she had previously stipulated, carrying on her trade in peace, without putting her land and sea forces on a respectable footing, and thereby exposing herself to the just clamours of her neighbours, so that at length she has been under the necessity of depending entirely on the protection and favour of a power, which, if not endowed with the greatest magnanimity, might have made itself master of the best and most important possessions : this mode, I say, of acting and thinking, has entirely suppressed in individuals all inclination for great enterprizes or for any undertakings for the good of their country. Thus circumstanced, no farther discoveries are to be expected from that quarter. Perhaps, indeed, there are but few remaining to be made in the northern hemisphere.

C H A P. III.

Of the Discoveries made in the North by the French.

THE discovery of America by the Spaniards, and that of the route to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, by the Portuguese, do not appear to have had so much effect on the French as to excite them to similar enterprizes. A shadow of false grandeur had fascinated her Kings and Nobles. The alluring baits which engrossed

engrossed her whole attention were the crown of Naples and the duchy of Milan. For the sake of conquering these countries, both of which nevertheless at length escaped her grasp, France lavished her treasures and the blood of her heroes. Hence her navy was neglected, and the romantic spirit of Chivalry which the sons of France acquired in these wars, inspired them at the same time with a contempt for every thing relative to trade and commerce; till *Henry the Great*, with his favourite *Sully*, and *Lewis XIV.* with his great Minister, *Colbert*, did all in their power to procure to merchants and manufacturers, as useful members of society, that respect to which these professions, inasmuch as they enrich the state, are in fact intitled. In the mean time it was these prejudices chiefly which prevented France from paying that attention to voyages of discovery which they deserved. The whole of North-America and Brasil would at this time be the property of France, had the Kings of this country and their Ministers better supported the first voyagers, had they given greater encouragement to the population of these new lands, and had they in general paid more attention to navigation than they in actual did. It is not therefore surprizing to find, that France has contributed but very little towards the discoveries made in the North.

I. Already, since the discovery of *Newfoundland* by *Sebastian Cabot*, in 1496, the Europeans had begun to make advantage of the land of *Bacallaos*, and of the great quantity of fish in the vicinity of it. In the year 1502, some Bristol merchants had already obtained grants for establishing colonies there. As early as the year 1504 the Biscayners, the Normans from Normandy, and the Bretons from Brittany in France, visited the southern coast of it, for the sake of fishing. It is even supposed, that the island of *Cape Breton*, which lies near the continent, had its name from these very Bretons. In 1506 *Jean Denis* sailed with his pilot *Camart*, a native of *Rouen*, from *Honfleur* to Newfoundland. He is said to have been the first who laid down and published a chart
of

of the coast of this country. In 1508, a navigator, by name *Thomas Aubert* (according to *Ramusio*, Vol. III. page 423, but *Prévol*, in his *Histoire des Voyages*, calls him *Hubert*) went with a ship called the *Pensée*, from Dieppe to Newfoundland, and brought the first savage native from thence to Paris. The ship belonged to the Captain's Father, *Jean Ango*, Viscount of Dieppe. But all these are rather loose hints than regular accounts of the empires and places explored by the French; neither has any thing more than what we have mentioned, been handed down to our times, and that only by the means of *Ramusio*.

II. The first who actually made a voyage, of which the history is preserved to us, was *John Verazzani*, by birth a Florentine, who, in the service of Francis the First, set out with four ships on a cruize against the Spaniards; but was compelled, by a storm, to run with two of his ships, the *Normandy* and the *Dauphine*, into a harbour in Britany. He continued to cruize against the Spaniards with success, and at length resolved to undertake a voyage with the *Dauphin* merely for the purpose of discovering new countries.

On the 17th of January, 1524, *Verazzani* sailed from the uninhabited rocks near *Madeira**, 500 leagues to the westward, in 25 days. After weathering a dangerous storm, he continued his voyage twenty-five days longer, in which space of time he made 400 leagues more, and then saw before him a low land, on which he discovered many fires. But his fears preventing him from landing, he sailed 50 leagues to the southward along the coast, without finding a harbour. He therefore returned again to the northward, but, meeting with as little success as before, he anchored in the open sea, and sent his boat on shore, upon which great numbers of the inhabitants appeared on the coast, running backwards and forwards, and exhibiting at once marks of astonishment, joy, and fear. The signs which the French made induced

* These uninhabited rocks are called by the Portuguese *Ilhas Desertas*; the English call them the *Deserters*. They are situated to the east of *Madeira*.

some

some to stay, and having by degrees recovered from their fright, they at length brought some provisions. They were naked, but wore aprons of fine furs, and bunches of feathers on their heads. They were well shaped, had fine black eyes, long and strait black hair, and were very swift of foot. The country here and there was watered with small rivers. Our navigators saw fine plains and considerable forests, as also thickets and groves of cypress, laurels, and palm-trees, and of some trees entirely unknown in Europe. It is difficult to determine where *Verazzani* landed first; but it would appear, that he first arrived on the coast of America, in that part of Georgia, where at present the town of *Savannah* is, and that afterwards he sailed southwards as far as to the 30th degree of latitude. What induces me to think so, is that *Verazzani* mentions his having seen palm-trees on the spot where he landed: now these, as far as I know, grow only in Florida; nor would it have been possible to sail from any other place on the American coast, 50 leagues to the southward; as the coast from 40 deg. to 33 deg. stretches from north-east to south-west. Upon this he shaped his course again to the northward. Having proceeded in this direction for some time, he found himself in lat 34 deg. and saw the coast trending eastward. It is true, that the coast is flat, and has no harbour, but then there are no rocks. The climate and air are wholesome. Being come to the spot, where the coast trends to the east, they saw many fires, and, placing some degree of confidence in the savages, sent their boat on shore; but the sea was so rough that they could not land. A young sailor, trusting to his skill as a swimmer, and the invitations of the savages, ventured to swim ashore with some trifling presents. He approached so near the shore, that the water reached no higher than his waist; but his fears predominated so, that he flung the presents on shore, and threw himself again into the sea with an intention of swimming to his boat. But now a wave cast him back on shore with such a

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force;

force, that he lay quite stupified and senseless on the strand. The savages ran immediately to his assistance, and carried him a little way off from the sea. At the first outset he could not collect himself, and great was his terror on recovering, to find himself entirely in their power ! He set up a loud cry, and they re-echoed it with violence in order to encourage him ; then, placing him at the foot of a hill, they turned him towards the sun, kindled a fire, and stripped him naked. He now no longer doubted but that they were going to offer him upon it as a sacrifice to the sun. They were of the same opinion on board the ship, and in the boat, though unable to afford him any assistance. But he found himself mistaken in his apprehensions, for they only dried his clothes, and did not even take him nearer to the fire than was necessary to warm him. Still, however, he trembled ; but the savages caressed him in the most friendly manner, admiring the whiteness of his complexion, and the hair on those parts of the body, where, as it is known, the American savages have none. They restored his clothes, and set victuals before him. Having shewn an eager desire to return to his friends, they conducted him to the shore, and after having embraced him with great tenderness, withdrew a little to shew him, that he was entirely at liberty, following him with their eyes until they had seen him again in his boat, and on board the ship. Now all this must have passed somewhere about *New Jersey* or *Staaten Island*, or perhaps on Long-Island.—They now sailed farther on, and saw the coast trend again to the northward. After a run of 50 leagues, *Verazzani* anchored off a delightful country, full of the finest forests. Here 20 of his men landed, and went about two leagues up into the country. The inhabitants fled before them, but they caught an old woman who had hid herself in the high grass, with a young woman about 18 years of age. The old woman carried a child on her back, and had besides, two little boys with her. The young woman, too, carried

three

three children of her own sex. Seeing themselves discovered, they began to shriek, and the old one gave them to understand, by signs, that the men were fled to the woods. They offered her something to eat, which she accepted, but the maiden refused it. This girl, who was tall and well shaped, they were desirous of taking along with them, but as she made a violent outcry, they contented themselves with taking a boy away with them. These people were half clothed with a tissue, composed of grass and reeds. They had nets. Their arrows had bone points. Their boats were hollowed out of one piece of timber. The trees were not so fragrant as those that grew on the places where they landed before; many of them, however, had vines climbing up to their very tops. No houses were to be seen. After having lain at anchor here three days, they sailed farther on along the coast; where they discovered a very fine country, and at the same time found the mouth of a large river.

The savages pointed out to them the deep places in this river; but a storm coming on on a sudden, obliged them to sail away to the eastward, where they found a well-cultivated island (the isle of *Nantucket*, or else that of *Martha's Vineyard*) and a little further on a good harbour, in which they saw more than 20 canoes belonging to the savages. Here they found a very fine race of people, who at the same time were very pleasing; however, the men were extremely jealous. The women wore ornaments of wrought copper. Their houses were round, made of wood, and covered over with straw. The mouth of the river was in 41 deg. Here they laid in a large stock of provisions, and on the 5th of May, sailed farther on to the northward. After a run of 150 leagues (equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ deg.) they discovered a high land, quite over-grown with forests. The inhabitants of this country were very savage; they were covered with the skins of animals, and lived on roots, which grew in the earth spontaneously. Twenty-five of the crew who landed here, were received by the inhabitants with a volley of ar-

rows. Here they found also ornaments made of copper. Then sailing farther on, they came, after a run of 150 leagues more, to 56 deg. N. lat. near a country where the Bretons had already been before. This country, along the coast of which they had already sailed upwards of 700 leagues, was called *New France* *. *Verazzani*'s provisions beginning to diminish very fast, he sailed strait on to France, whence he dated his letter to King Francis I. on the 8th of July, 1524.

It is said, that *Verazzani* undertook another voyage to the new-discovered country of *New France*; but it is absolutely impossible to say in what year this last voyage was made. *Ramusio*, however, very positively assures us, that when *Verazzani* landed, he and the people who went ashore with him, were cut to pieces and devoured by the savages, in the very sight of the rest of the crew, who had remained on board the ship, and who were unable to come to their rescue. Before I conclude this article, I must beg leave to add two very short observations: the first respects the similarity of the fates attending *Verazzani* and the immortal *Cook*, both of whom were killed, cut into pieces, and devoured by a rude, uncultivated people; both also were possessed of an extensive knowledge of navigation, intrepid courage, and the greatest perseverance. The second has already been made before me by others, but is nevertheless as true as it is remarkable. It is as follows: The three great empires of those times, Spain, England, and France, made each of them use of an Italian to conduct the voyages of discovery set

* In an old map I have seen the land *de Nurumbega* laid down just where *Nova Scotia* is at present. At page 290 I freely confessed that I could not rightly comprehend the name of *Arambec*, which was given there to the coast of the land, afterwards named *Nova Scotia*; it is, however, without doubt, no other than this same land *de Nurumbega*, or *Norimbega*. Nevertheless the origin of this appellation remains still unknown to me; unless it be, indeed, that some of the toys, which were presented to the savages, consisting of looking-glasses, bells, &c. &c. were of *Nuremberg* manufacture, and that thus, by the name given to the country, they meant to preserve the memory of this fact.

set on foot by them. Spain employed *Christopher Colom*, a Genoese; England, *Sebastian Cabot*, a Venetian; and France, *Verazzani*, a Florentine. A circumstance which sufficiently proves, that in those times no nation was equal to the Italians in point of maritime knowledge and extensive experience in navigation. But notwithstanding all their knowledge and experience, the Italians have not been able to acquire one inch of ground for themselves in America: all the discoveries made by these Italians devolved to the share of those nations which had sent them out on these errands. The penurious mercantile spirit of the Republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and other free states, part of whom had already passed under the yoke of a master, their mutual bickerings and petty wars, and their short-sighted selfishness, made them overlook the benefits resulting from such great enterprises, and attach themselves to mere trifling details, which rendered them unfit for carrying on expeditions of such importance to the state, though private persons had courage and magnanimity enough not only to plan these important voyages, but also to put their plans into execution.

III. The discoveries made by *Verazzani* having been of little or no advantage to the realm, all thoughts of a voyage of discovery were for some time laid aside: but in the year 1534, the Admiral *Philip Chabot* represented to the King, how advantageous it would be to establish a colony in a country from whence Spain derived so much wealth. Accordingly *James Cartier*, of St. Malo, was presented to the King, and his proposals were accepted. On the 20th of April he set sail from St. Malo, with two ships and 122 men, and on the 10th of May he saw *Bona Vista*, in Newfoundland; but the land was as yet covered with snow, and towards the shore there were great quantities of ice. Six degrees farther to the southward, or S. S. E. he saw a harbour, to which he gave the name of *St. Catharine's Harbour*. He then returned to the northward, and near the *Isle of Birds*, at the distance of 14 leagues from *Newfoundland*, he saw a great white bear. After this he sailed

almost quite round *Newfoundland*, where he found fine harbours, but a bad soil. The inhabitants were of a good size, tolerably well shaped, and wore their hair tied in a bunch on the crown of their head, which they likewise adorned with feathers. Then he went to the continent, where he stood in to a deep bay. In this bay he suffered great heat, and thence named it *Baye des Chaleurs*. In some old maps, it is likewise called *Spanish Bay*. In fact, *Velasco* is said to have been here before *Cartier*, when, finding no metals of any kind, he cried out, *Aca nada*, HERE IS NOTHING *; from which expression was formed *Canada*, the name by which this country was afterwards known. In the *Bay des Chaleurs* there was a great number of seals. *Cartier* now visited the coasts of the bay of *St. Lawrence*, and having set sail again on the 15th of August, he arrived on the 5th of September at *St. Maloes*.

IV. *Cartier* gave an account of his voyage, and this induced the Vice-Admiral, *Charles de Mouy Sieur de Melleraye*, to procure him more respect and authority from the King, as also three ships well rigged and manned. On the 6th of May, 1535, *Cartier* with his whole crew, repairing to the cathedral Church at *St. Malo*, prayed for the blessing of God on their undertaking, and with it received likewise that of the Bishop. On the 19th he put to sea, having on board a number of young men of distinction, who were desirous of making their fortunes under him. The ships were soon after dispersed by a storm.

* This derivation of the name of *Canada* from the Spanish *Aca-nada*, having been so often recurred to, I cannot help stating some objections against it. The Spanish word for *here*, is not *aca*, but *aqui*; and the formation of *Canada* from *Aquinada*, appears forced and unnatural. It cannot, however, be denied, that this appellation has by many been derived from thence; for in ancient maps we often find *Ca: da Nada*, or *Promontorium Nibili*. But, from a *Canadian* vocabulary, annexed to the original edition of the second voyage of *Jaques Cartier*, Paris, 1545, it appears, that an assemblage of houses, or habitations, i. e. a town, was by the natives called *Canada*. *Cartier* says, *Ils appellent une Ville—Canada*; and nothing seems more natural than that when the French asked how they called such a place, viz. a certain assemblage of habitations or huts, or the town, the savages should answer them, *Canada*, a town. Now this was imagined to be the particular and proper name of the country itself; and thence the whole country obtained the name of *Canada*.

On the 26th of June they met together again at their general place of *rendezvous*, in the bay of *Newfoundland*. On the 1st of August he was obliged, by a storm, to take refuge in the harbour of St. *Nicholas*, on the northern coast of the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, which is in 49 deg. 25 min. N. lat. On the 10th, *Cartier* bore up again into the great bay, which he named the bay of St. *Lawrence*; and though the river which runs into it was at first called the river of *Canada*, yet it has in the course of time changed this appellation for that of the *River of St. Lawrence*, after the bay or gulph of that name. The name of St. Lawrence was also in the beginning only given to an inlet, situated between the island of *Anticosti* and the northern coast of the main land, but in the course of time has been extended to the whole of this large bay. On the 15th he came to the island which he named *Assomption* (or Assumption Island) but which by the savages was called *Natiscotec*, whence the English have made the name *Anticosti*, a name by which it is known at this very day. After this they sailed up the river, and, on the 1st of September, ran into the river *Seguenay*. Then he sailed farther, and named an island which he saw covered with hazel-trees, *Isle aux Coudres* (Hazel or Filberd Island). Here, seeing land on both sides of the river, he looked about for a harbour to pass the winter in. Higher up he found a still finer and larger island, covered with an infinite number of vines*, growing spontaneously in the

* One of the chief and strongest objections that has been made against the opinion that *Newfoundland* was the *Winland* of the ancient *Normans* (vide page 83) is, that no vines grew there spontaneously: but *Cartier's* *Bachus Island*, or the *Isle of Orleans*, having been found covered with vines, and the latitude of this island being exactly the same with that of *Newfoundland*, and indeed of the most southern parts of that country, and moreover, the climate of *Newfoundland* being, on account of its vicinity to the ocean, rather milder than that of the isle of *Orleans*, I can no longer doubt but that several sorts of wild vines grew also on *Newfoundland*, and chiefly the species before mentioned: *Vitis vulpina*, *labrusca* et *arborescens*. But as we have not as yet any *Flora* of *Newfoundland*, we cannot affirm this with absolute certainty; however it is highly probable that this is the case.

groves and forests, and hence named it *Bachus Island*: this name, however, is now forgotten, it being now called the *Isle of Orleans*. *Cartier* went still higher up the great river, and saw a river coming from the north, which he named *St. Croix*, having discovered it on the day of the *Elevation of the Holy Cross*; but at present this river is known by the appellation of *Jaques Cartier's River*. Here he conversed with *Donnacona*, a Chief of the savages, who was desirous of keeping all the advantages arising from *Cartier* and his crew to himself, and accordingly advised him not to go to *Hochelaga*, a large settlement of the savages. But *Cartier* left two ships in the river of *St. Croix*, and went with the third, *la grande Hermine*, higher up. In lake *St. Pierre*, he, not having depth of water sufficient, could not proceed any farther with his ship. He therefore armed his two boats, and went with them up to *Hochelaga**. This place contained about 50 dwellings, each of which was 50 paces long, and 14 or 15 broad. All these habitations were encompassed with pallisadoes. There was but one gate or entrance to it; all around the fortifications there was an elevated stage, which was to be ascended by a ladder. On this stage lay a great quantity of stones, both large and small, for the defence of the fortification. The Europeans were well received here: but it was not long before inactivity, the confined and putrid air in the close and dirty habitations of the savages, the salted and poor provision they were obliged to put up with, together with the want of change of cloathing, occasioned the scurvy amongst *Cartier's* people; and 25 of them died of this disease, till at length they learned from the savages the best remedy for it, and began to use it. This remedy consists in a decoction of the leaves and innermost bark of the white North-American pine-

* At present this place is no longer called *Hochelaga*, but *Montreal*. The first name is entirely forgotten. This *Montreal* is the second place in *Canada*, being next to *Quebec*. The island on which it is situated is highly cultivated and pretty populous, in comparison with the rest of *Canada*.

tree (*Pinus Canadensis* Linn. Epinette Blanche). By means of this, Cartier and his crew were perfectly recovered within eight days ; nay, even those, too, were cured, who laboured under venereal complaints. In the next spring *Cartier* returned with what remained of his crew to France ; and having, partly by stratagem and partly by force, carried off *Donnacona* from the river of *St. Croix*, presented him to the King, and expatiated largely on the advantages which were likely to result from a settlement in that country, and chiefly by means of the fur-trade ; shewing, at the same time, that from the mildness of the climate and the fertility of the soil, every production of the earth might be expected. But the silly prejudice at that time prevailing amongst all the nations of Europe, that only such countries as produced gold and silver were in any wise valuable and worth taking possession of, had also at this juncture so great an influence on the French, that they slighted the salutary advice of *Cartier*, and would hear no more of the establishment of a colony in Canada.

V. Nevertheless there were some people found, and those even at Court, who formed more just conceptions of the matter. A certain Nobleman of *Picardy*, by name *Francois de la Roque*, Lord of *Roberval*, who was of great weight in his own province, and whom, on this account, Francis I. frequently used to call the Little King of *Vimeu*, was more zealous than the rest for pursuing these discoveries. The King, therefore, on the 15th of January, 1540, created him Lord in *Norimbega*, and his Lieutenant-General and Viceroy in *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, *Newfoundland*, *Belle Isle*, *Carpon*, *Labrador*, the *Great Bay*, and *Bacallaos*. By these great titles *Roberval* was induced to appear in the countries here mentioned, with a grandeur and magnificence suitable to his dignity. Accordingly he sent for canons from Normandy, and even from Champagne, and fitted out two ships at his own expence. *Cartier* was to go before as Captain, as he himself

could not be ready with his two ships so soon. *Cartier*, therefore, set sail with five ships on the 23d of May, 1640. After meeting with many storms, he landed at length in *Newfoundland*, in the harbour of *Carpon* (probably *Quirpon*, or *Kirpon*, on the northern point of the island). *Roberval* not arriving, *Cartier* went straight on to *Canada*, where he spoke with *Agona*, the successor of *Donnacona*, who had died in France. Having made presents to each other, *Cartier* went to the distance of four leagues from *St. Croix* into a small river, which seemed more convenient to him than the river of *St. Croix* itself. Here they saw a great quantity of black grapes; and sowed different sorts of garden seeds, such as cabbage, navew, and lettuce, which immediately sprung up. They likewise erected here a small citadel, to which they gave the name of *Charlebourg* *. The country was pleasant, and was furnished with a spring: it contained iron, and was full of chryystal-stones, and even of gold-dust. *Cartier* armed two boats with a design to go over the water-falls to *Saguenay*, but found it impossible, and, having discovered the perfidiousness of the natives, became doubly watchful. Having waited in vain till 1542, for the arrival of the Viceroy M. de *Roberval*, and consumed all his provisions, besides that he had great reason to fear an attack from the savages, he set out on his return to France; but quite unexpectedly found *Roberval* at *Newfoundland*, who had left France only in the month of April 1542, and had arrived in the road of *St. John*, in *Newfoundland*, just before him, with three ships full of men, women, and children. *Roberval*, indeed, wanted to oblige *Cartier* to return with him to America; but this latter gave him the slip with his squadron in the night, and sailed to *Britany*.

* Hence it would seem that this first settlement of the French must have been at no great distance from *Quebec* and the little river of *Charles*; and, in fact, there is still a place called *Charlesbourg*, about this spot.

VI. *Roberval* went with his three ships to the coast of Saguenay, built a fort on a mountain near the river of St. Lawrence, and sent his first pilot, *Jean Alphonse de Xaintoigne*, a native either of Portugal or Galicia, to the northward, to discover a passage to the East-Indies. But he did not go beyond 52 deg. N. lat. *Roberval* must have returned to France, for we find mention is made of many more voyages having been undertaken by him. The war between Francis I. and Charles V. prevented Roberval from attempting any other voyage till the year 1549. But in that year he set sail again, together with his brother, one of the bravest men of those times, and they were both reported to have perished, though no farther information concerning the particular circumstances attending their destruction has been handed down to us.

VII. For some time after this, people did not care to undertake any more voyages to America, as they could procure no gold from the newly-discovered northern part of it, not considering, that the real value of the fur trade and of the fishery surpassed by far that of all the gold in Peru, and secured to the state more permanent advantages. In 1598, the Marquis *de la Roche* went in the quality of Lord Lieutenant to these countries, and 40 of the people sent out with him, having been taken out of the prisons, he landed them on the miserable island called *Isle de Sable*, and stood away for *Acadia*, which since has obtained the name of *Nova Scotia*, from whence, after having made, in different parts of it, such researches as he thought necessary, he returned to France, without having had it in his power to take back with him the poor wretches from the *Isle de Sable*. In France many misfortunes befel him, which prevented him from returning to America; and this affected him so much that he died of vexation. Henry IV. hearing of the unfortunate wretches left on the *Isle de Sable*, sent *Chetodel* to bring them away. After seven years stay on this miserrble island,

only 12 of them were alive, whom the King desired to see, just as they were when they left the place, in their seal-skin clothes, and with their long beards; and afterwards made each of them a present of 50 dollars, and remitted them the punishment of the crimes for which they had formerly been put into prison.

Immediately after this man, *Pontgrave de Chauvin* went with a grant from the King for an exclusive trade to *Tadoussak*, on the mouth of the *Saguenay*, where he bartered for furs, and returning the next year, continued to trade, and had also determined to go there a third time, but was prevented by death. After this we find some accounts of the voyages of *Samuel de Champlain*, a man of a noble family, to Canada; but the discoveries made by him are very insignificant, and a great many of them do not come within the limits of our plan. What the savage *Otschagab* (perhaps one of the *Otschagras* nation) has said of the passage from *Lake Superiour* into *Lake Bourbon*, and to the two *Ouinipiques*, which are joined to Hudson's Bay by means of the river *Nelson*, is equally uncertain. None of these relations, any more than those of certain French officers, are sufficiently authentic to serve as a foundation on which a map might be laid down, or for a circumstantial description of these countries, and one that may be depended on.

VIII. *Philip Buache*, in his *Considerations Geographiques et Physiques*, Paris, 4to 1753, mentions the voyage of a Captain *Frondad*, who, in the year 1709, sailed from China to Spanish North-America. This is the only ship that ever crossed the South Sea in so high a latitude. In 165 deg. E. long. from *Ferro*, he found a strong current setting from the north, and in the month of May met with heavy rains and violent flaws of wind. Being come to 188 deg. E. long. and 45 deg. N. lat. he found a sea as calm as a pond, which made him suppose that to the windward of him there must be a land which obstructed the current. Before he came to lat. 44 deg. and long. 197 deg. east.

east of Ferro, he met with dreadful weather, violent flaws from N. N. E. and from the east, and strong currents setting to the north and north-westward. Here likewise he saw a great number of whales. In 40 deg. N. lat. the sea was green. Farther on, currents were to the south-east. At length, on the 24th of July, he reached the coast of California, having had, through the whole course of the voyage, variable weather and winds, violent showers of rain, heavy seas, and sometimes dead calms.

This is all that I have been able to collect concerning the voyages of the French, and the discoveries made by them in the north. Upon the whole, it is to be observed, that this nation has but lately begun to bestow that attention on voyages to distant regions which they deserve. What has been formerly undertaken in this respect has been chiefly done by private persons at their own expence. Government has seldom given its support to enterprizes of this nature, or if it has, it has not done it with that zeal and ardour these objects deserve. It cannot be denied, however, that Government has also set on foot some very considerable voyages of discovery, and those at a considerable expence; voyages, too, in which observations have been made of great importance and general utility.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Discoveries made by the Spaniards in the North.

IT was to a concurrence of many fortunate circumstances that Spain was indebted for the discovery of the West-Indian islands being made for her in the year 1492, by the immortal *Genoese, Christopher Colom*. The important advantages which they reaped from this discovery,

very, emboldened all the high-spirited and resolute men of the nation to proceed in this career with almost inconceivable activity. The riches thus acquired served for fitting out a great number of ships, and for the execution of fresh enterprizes. The great discoveries made by the Portuguese in Africa, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1496, and the finding out of a passage by sea to the East-Indies, rendered the Spaniards still more and more intent upon new discoveries. Each of these nations endeavoured to extend its discoveries, and to profit by them as much as possible. Ships were sent out every where on voyages of this nature. *Vincent le Blanc* asserts, that at the time when *Thomas Aubert* (or *Hubert*) went to *Canada*, viz. in 1508, the Spaniard, *Velasco*, went thither also, and that he sailed up the river, which was afterwards called *St. Lawrence*, for about 200 leagues, and then coasting along *Labrador*, came again to the river *Nevado*, which *Cortereal* had already discovered before him. But so little credit is to be given to the relations of *Vincent le Blanc* in general, that we likewise cannot place much dependance on this story of his with respect of the voyage of discovery made by the Spaniard *Velasco*, and consequently cannot determine whether and how far it is founded in truth.

I. Alexander VI. Bishop of Rome, agreeably to the prejudices of those times, in 1493, divided the discovery of new lands between the Spanish and the Portuguese, by the famous *Linea de Demarcation*, which in fact began at 36 deg. to the westward of Lisbon, or at 27 deg. 29 min. westward from the first meridian, viz. that which passes through Ferro, or 332 deg. 31 min. eastward from Ferro; but which, for the greater convenience of both powers, was altered in 1494, by the treaty of *Tordesillas*, in such a manner that Portugal might be enabled to conquer the kingdom of *Fez*, and Spain, on the other hand, might have it in her power to do the same by *Algiers*, *Bugey*, *Tunis*,
and

and *Telefin*; and consequently the *Linea de Demarcation* was now to be drawn at 370 leagues to the westward of the *Cape Verd* Islands. The Spaniards having moreover found their way westward to the Molucca Islands, by means of *Magelhaen's* first voyage round the world, and both parties extending their 180 degrees from the line of demarcation very unjustly with a view to enlarge their dominions, attempts were made in 1524 to settle these disputes by Commissaries at *Badajoz* and *Elvas*; but nothing was determined upon till the Emperor Charles V. in 1529, happening to be in want of money, by the treaty of *Saragossa* gave up his pretensions to the Molucca Islands, in lieu of which he accepted of 350,000 ducats from King *John III.* of Portugal. In the mean time the Spaniards continued to have a very difficult, and, on account of the storms usually experienced there, likewise a dangerous route, to go through the Straits of Magellan into the South Sea and to *Peru* and *Chili*, as also to the Philippine Islands; they therefore naturally wished to find a nearer way. The attempts made by the English and French to find a passage by the north to China and Kathay, and into the South-Sea, made them somewhat uneasy, lest it should be discovered and occupied by a foreign nation, and thus they themselves remain excluded from it; they, too, therefore, were desirous of trying to find a passage from the South-Sea into the Atlantic. But before this enterprize could be brought to bear, the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1524, sent *Estevan Gomez* from *Corrunna*, to find out a passage to the Molucca Islands by the North of America. But finding it impossible to do this, he brought some Indians from these islands along with him, and, in 1525, arrived at *Toledo*. Vide *Miguel Venega's* History of California, p. 124. *Cortez*, the Conqueror of *Mexico*, had received intelligence of the attempt of the Portuguese *Caspar Cortereal*, to find a passage, and of his having already discovered a strait, and named it *Anian*. In consequence of this intelligence he

sent out 3 ships, well manned, under the command of *Francisco Ulloa*, for the purpose of finding out this passage. This event seems to have happened in 1537, though very little has been handed down to us concerning the result of this expedition, as *Cortez* being willing to appropriate to himself the advantage which might arise from this discovery, if made, took the command of the expedition upon himself; but returned without having done any thing.

After him, the *Viceroy Mendoza*, sent people out in 1540, as well by land, under the command of *Francisco Vasquez Coronado*, as also by sea, under that of *Francisco Alarçon*, for the purpose of finding out the straits known by the name of *Anian*, and of exploring the coast to 53 deg. N. lat. *Alarçon* went no farther than to 36 deg. when his ships being in bad condition, and his crew sickly, the coast moreover beginning to trend to the northward (probably to the north-west) in which case he must have removed still farther from the land troops, who were even then at the distance of 10 days march from him, he returned. Vide *Antonio Herrera's Description de las Indias, Amberes, fol. 1728*; which has also been published in Latin at Amsterdam, in folio, 1622; as also in *Io: de Laet, novus Orbis seu Americæ utriusque Descriptio; Antwerp et Lugd. Bat. ap. Elzevir. fol. 1633*.

II. The news of *Alarçon's* ill success having reached Spain, orders were given for another expedition. *Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo*, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, was appointed to command it, in the year 1542, but he went no farther than to 44 deg. N. lat. where he found it very cold. The sickness of the crew, the want of provisions, and the circumstance of the ship's being too weak to stand the turbulence of the sea in those parts, obliged *Cabrillo* to return, without proceeding as far as he had been instructed to do. However, they saw land in 42 deg. N. lat. on the coast of North-America, which land they named *Capo Mendocino*, by way of compliment to the Viceroy; and they found that from thence to the harbour *de la Natividad*, the whole

was one continued land, without the intervention of a strait, or any other separation.

III. Besides what was done by these ships, it has been advanced, that in the year 1568, a Spanish nobleman of the name of *Salvatierra*, on his return home from the West-Indies, accidentally landed in Ireland, and related to the Lord Lieutenant, that *Andreas Urdanietta* had, about the year 1556, or 1557, actually found a passage, and had shewn him, eight years before his arrival in Ireland, a map of Mexico, on which he had laid down this passage. *Urdanietta* coming from the South-Sea to Germany, and afterwards speaking with the King of Portugal, had related to his Majesty the discovery he had made, who earnestly entreated him to observe a profound silence with respect to this affair; as, if the English should get to the knowledge of it, they would become extremely troublesome to the King of Spain, as well as to himself, viz. the King of Portugal. This *Urdanietta* was, in fact, no more than a Monk, but had an extraordinarily extensive knowledge of mathematics and navigation; in consequence of which he was employed on many voyages and expeditions, particularly on that undertaken to the Philippines in 1564, under the command of *Andreas Miguel Lopez Legaspi*.

IV. A. D. 1582, *Francisco Gualle* had orders from the King of Spain to examine if it was true that there existed a passage to the east and north-east of Japan, by means of which the South-Sea was connected with that situated to the north of Asia. His own report on this subject is as follows:—"Shaping my course (viz. eastward from Japan, " from 32 deg. N. lat.) to the E. N. E. about 300 leagues from Japan, " I found a very hollow sea, with currents setting from the north and " north-west, till I had sailed above 700 leagues, and was at the distance of 200 leagues only from the coast of New Spain (or California);

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" and

“ and it was not till then that I lost the currents and the hollow sea.
 “ Whence I am firmly of opinion, and stedfastly believe, that a chan-
 “ nel or strait is to be found between the continent of New Spain and
 “ Tartary or Asia. During this whole run of 700 leagues we saw a
 “ great number of whales, and of those fish which the Spaniards call
 “ *Atuns* (Tunnies, *Scomber Thynnus*) a great number of which are
 “ caught near Gibraltar in Spain; as also *Albacoras* (*Scomber Hippos*)
 “ and *Bonitos* (*Scomber Pelamys*); all which are fish that usually haunt
 “ channels, straits, and currents of the sea*; and all these circum-
 “ stances, taken together, induce me to believe, that there must be a
 “ channel or strait here†.”

Juan de Fuca was, strictly speaking, a Greek, from the island of *Ceph-
 alonia*, his real name was *Apostolos Valerianos*. He had been up-
 wards of 40 years in the service of Spain as mariner and pilot, and
 had also lost a considerable fortune on board the *Acapulco* ship, which
 was taken from the Spaniards by *Cavendish*; which, however, he cer-
 tainly over-rated in valuing it at 60,000 ducats (perhaps he meant
 dollars). At Venice he became acquainted with *John Dowlaſs*,
 an English pilot, and an excellent mariner, to whom he related
 his adventures, and at the same time informed him that he had
 discovered a passage. He likewise offered to go to England, and,
 in the service of *Queen Elizabeth*, to shew this passage, on condi-
 tion of being indemnified for the loss he had sustained in the *Aca-
 pulco* ship. For he, *Juan de Fuca*, had been sent out by the Vice-

* For my part, I cannot say that all these kind of fish are so particularly fond of channels and straits; for, in the course of my voyage round the world, I have more than once seen these species of mackerel, and particularly the *Bonitos*, in great quantities (nay, we even caught some of them) in the middle of the Atlantic, at a great distance from any land. Whales we saw in the high southern latitudes, and that chiefly near the ice, far from any land. However, the greatest quantity of them that I saw was in a strait which has a very strong current, viz. the *Straits of le Maine*.

† Vide *de Couto Decad.* 10. lib. 5. cap. 3. and *Routier de Linſchoten*, cap. 54.

roy of Mexico, as pilot to 3 ships under the command of a Spaniard, to discover the straits of *Anian*; but the soldiers that were on board, to the number of 100, having mutinied, and besides that, the Captain having conducted himself improperly, the whole voyage had been frustrated. But in 1592, the Viceroy had sent him out, with a small *caravell* and pinnace, to discover these straits. Now, having seen, between 47 and 48 deg. N. lat. that the land trended to the north and north-east, with a large inlet, he had sailed into this inlet and continued sailing in it for the space of 20 days. The land stretched sometimes north-westward, and sometimes north-eastward, and even at other times, south-eastward, and the sea grew much wider than it was at the entrance, and contained many islands. He landed several times, saw several people clothed in the skins of animals, and found the country very fertile, and abounding in gold, silver, and pearls. Being now already come into the North-Sea, and having also found the sea wide enough every where, and near 30 or 40 leagues wide in the mouth of the strait where he entered, he at length resolved to return, having, on the one hand, actually accomplished the discovery, but, on the other, being too weak to be able to defend himself against the savages, in case there had been a necessity for so doing. Accordingly he arrived at *Acapulco* in 1592, and was in hopes of receiving a considerable reward from the Viceroy, for which purpose he waited two years in vain. He therefore went to Spain, where the King received him as kindly as the Viceroy had done; but obtaining no reward after a long attendance, he set out by stealth for Italy, intending to go from thence to *Cephalonia*, and pass the remainder of his days in peace amongst his relations in his native country. This relation of *Fuca's* in many instances seems to be rather fabulous, which renders the remaining part of it very suspicious*.

* Vide Lucas Fox's North-west Fox, London, 4to. 1635, p. 163, 166, and Purchas Pilgrims Book IV. Part 3.

VI. The great achievements of Sir *Francis Drake*, who, in the year 1578, took possession, in a harbour beyond California, of a land in 38 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and named it *New Albion*, as also the expeditions of Sir *Thomas Cavendish*, became in the highest degree obnoxious and troublesome to the Spaniards in the beginning of their trade to the *Manillas*; add to this, that the report still subsisted respecting the straits of *Anian*, and encreased the uneasiness of the Spaniards, as the whole coast, from *Culhuacan* (Culiacan) to *Acapulco*, was without fortifications or defence. On this account the Court commissioned *Sebastian Vizcaino*, a man of great courage and understanding, to explore the northern coast. Accordingly he sailed from *Acapulco*, in the year 1596, with three ships, to the island of *Mazatlan*, in New Galicia, and to *Port San Sebastian*, where they took in water, and investigated the coast for more than 100 leagues to the northward. In one place they lost 17 men, and were obliged, for want of provisions, to return to New Spain.

VII. After this fruitless voyage, King Philip III. ordered his Viceroy, *Don Gaspar de Zuniga*, Count of *Monterey*, that as the ships going from the Philippines to New Spain, usually came first in sight of *Capo Mendocino*, search should be made in those parts for a good harbour, where the ships might, in case of necessity, find shelter, and take in water and other refreshments; the high north winds raging so furiously on that coast, that such a place of refuge was very necessary; particularly for ships that sailed quite across the South-Sea. All possible preparations were immediately made for this voyage. *Sebastian Vizcaino* set sail from *Acapulco* on the 5th of May, 1602, with two ships, one frigate, and a small long-boat. Keeping along the coast, they described all the harbours, islands, and rocks on it, and at the same time suffered greatly from the terrible north-west winds that prevailed there. At length, in about 36 deg. 44 min. N. lat. they found a very convenient

venient and secure harbour, affording excellent wood for the masts and yards of a ship, as also very fine oaks for the planks and timber. They likewise found pines, willows, and poplars; together with beautiful lakes, fine pasturage, and excellent land for ploughing. Here were bears and wild oxen of two different sizes; the one as large as a buffalo, and the other of the size of a wolf, yet made like a stag, with a long neck and large horns like a stag's horns, and a tail of 3 feet long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad. Their hoofs were cloven, like those of our oxen.

Add to this, there were stags, rabbits, hares, wild cats, geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges, blackbirds, kites, and cranes in abundance; of various sorts of muscles there was great plenty, as also of lobsters; and besides that, there were seals and whales. The harbour was surrounded by Indian habitations (*Rancherias*) the inhabitants of which were a well-made, good-natured people. This harbour they named *Monterey*, in honour of the Viceroy. They also saw Cape *Mendocino* in 41 deg. 30 min. N. lat. and as they had a great many sick people on board, they returned to the coast of New Spain. The small boat saw a promontory in lat. 43 deg. which they named *Capo Blanco*. Ensign *Martin Aguilar*, who commanded the boat, and the pilot *Florez*, were now of opinion, that having made Cape *Mendocino*, as they had been ordered to do, it would be necessary to turn back and look for the coast of New Spain; but their report, which is to be found in *Torquemadas Monarquia Indiana*, contains not a single word concerning an inlet, creek, or harbour; much less is there a description given of any strait. Consequently the whole history of *Martin Aguilar's straits*, which is mentioned in so many charts, is founded on a mere fable. In fine, having suffered greatly from the scurvy, and lost many of the crew, they returned to *Acapulco* in the beginning of the year 1603.

VIII. Now we are coming to a very famous expedition which, if it was to be depended upon in every respect, would leave us not the least doubt

doubt about the real existence of a passage. In the months of April and June, A. D. 1708, in an English monthly publication, intituled, *Memoirs of the Curious*, there was inserted an account of a voyage of discovery made by a Spanish Admiral, *Bartholomeo de Fonte*, which he himself describes in a letter. By what means this letter came into the hands of the editor, is not mentioned. Some have pretended that it was genuine, while others have insisted on the contrary. Amongst the former is undoubtedly to be reckoned the author of a work, intituled, *The great probability of a North-west Passage, deduced from Observations on the Letter of Admiral de Fonte*. London, 4to. 1761. The author was *Theodore Swaine Drage*, the same person, who, when clerk of the ship *California*, had published an account of the voyage to Hudson's Bay in the year 1748. We shall not refer to any of his opponents, but only observe, that it is difficult to conceive, since the Spaniards have so carefully explored the coast of North-America in 1775; since the immortal *Cook* has navigated this same coast; since the Russian adventurers have begun, more than ever to frequent and accurately investigate this coast; since the Hudson's Bay Company has, very lately only, caused a journey to be made by land to the Frozen Sea; it is difficult, I say, after all this, to conceive where we are to insert the *Archipelagus of San Lazaro*, the *Rio de los Reyes*, the *Lago Bello*, the river *Parmentire*, the *Lago de Fuente*, the *Estrecho de Ronguiello*, the river *Haro*, the river *Bernardo*, the *Lago Velasco*, and the peninsula of *Conibasset*; all which, however, are found in the narrative or rather reverie of de Fonte. None of the Spanish authors, who in other respects set so high a value on the discoveries of their countrymen, know any thing at all of this voyage, which appears to be the production of some idle visionary. Indeed this author has in general a very improbable way of writing; for he speaks of the salt water of the lakes, and of a flux and reflux in these lakes, and nevertheless finds it necessary, in order to proceed farther,

after, to have recourse to boats, as he is obliged to go over some waterfalls or cataracts; but, in the name of common sense and reason, how is it possible for the tide to get over a cataract? and how does he contrive to find salt water even beyond a cataract? But a man must have a great deal of idle time on his hands, or else be very strongly infected with the *Cacoethes scribendi*, to undertake a serious refutation of such absurd and incongruous dreams. Indeed they would make much such a figure in this work as an extract of 20 pages from the well-known *Daniel de Foe's New Voyage round the World, by a course never sailed before*, would, when blended with the genuine materials for history gathered from state-papers, or with a collection of authentic records.

IX. The last of the Spanish voyages, which was made in 1775, by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, *Don Antonio Maria de Bukarelli e Orsua*, for the purpose of making discoveries to the northward on the western coast of America in the South-Sea, has to all appearance been preceded by some earlier voyages, of which the public has never had the smallest intelligence, it being well known that Spain keeps all her American affairs and transactions as close and as secret as possible. For it appears, that the Spaniards have not only missionaries, but also a harbour and a Commandant at *Monterey*. There are likewise regular packet-boats to this place; and they say themselves, that as far as this port, there is no occasion for any instructions with respect to the navigation; the route that leads thither having been sailed in so often since the establishment of the colony, and the most advantageous manner of making this voyage being so well known already. The longitude of it is 17 deg. westward from the harbour of *San Blas*, and the lat. 36 deg. 44 min. N. The two ships were commanded by *Bruno Heceta*, and the command of the galley was given to Lieut. *Don Juan de Ayala*, and Lieut. *Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega*.

In company with them sailed the *Monterey* packet-boat, called the

San

San Carlos, commanded by *Don Miguel Maurrique*. The author of this relation was *Don Antonio Maurelle*, second pilot on board of the galley *Sonora*. But already before this voyage of discovery, viz. in 1774, some ships had been sent out to 55 deg. N. lat. The frequent voyages of the English to the South-Sea, under *Byron*, *Wallis*, and twice under *Cook*, had roused the attention of the Spaniards; as well as the many discoveries of the Russians in the eastern ocean, which were chiefly made between the years 1767 and 1773. In consequence of this, they twice, if not three times, sent out ships from *Callao* to *O-Tabeite*, and in 1774 to the northward along the western coast of North-America, as far as to 55 deg. N. lat. and now again in 1775, in which year the ships set sail in company with the packet-boat on the 16th of March. The Commander of the *Don Carlos* having betrayed evident marks of insanity, was set on shore, and the command of the packet-boat was entrusted to *Don Juan d' Ayala*, and *Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra* remained sole Commander on board the *Sonora*. On their very first outset they met with strong currents. On their passage they saw *man of war birds* (*Pelecanus Aquilus*) *Gannets* (*Pelecanus Bassanus*) and *Tropic-Birds* (*Phæton Æthereus*) as also *Boobies* (*Bobos*, *Sterna Stolidus*). They had contrary winds and currents to strive against. They did not, however, run into Monterey, but resolved rather to sail to 43 deg. N. lat. and there to repair their ships, and to take in fresh water. In their way thither they saw a very extraordinary species of rock-weed. The stalk by which the plant was fastened to the rock, was a long tube, with the upper part shaped like an orange, from the top of which shot forth great broad leaves, whence they called it *Cabeza de Naranja*, or the orange head. Immediately after, they saw a species of rock-weed with long leaves like ribbands, which is usually called *Zacate del Mare*. They saw also seals, ducks, and fish. The lat. was 38 deg. 14 min. On the 8th of June they saw

the coast pretty distinctly, and the current very strong to the south. On the 9th they ran into a harbour in 41 deg. 7 min. which they named *de la Trinidad*, after the Feast of the Holy Trinity. The inhabitants pretty much resemble those whom *Cook* discovered about nine degrees farther to the northward. Their arrows were armed with points of flint, copper, or iron, which latter was perhaps obtained by barter either from the English in Hudson's Bay, or from the Russians. The country thereabouts is fertile, and capable of great improvement. Continuing their course, they came into the vicinity of the island *de Dolores*, very near the land, and anchored there, purposing to take in water; but by this step they lost their boat and the best of their people, who were killed by the savages. Some of these who, with perfidious dissimulation, were coming to invite them on shore, they likewise shot in return; after which they went farther on towards the north. On the 17th of August they saw land again in N. lat. 57 deg. 2 min. Here they saw a mountain, to which they gave the name of *St. Hyacintho*, and the promontory they called *Cabo del Enganno*. The top of the mountain was covered with snow, and the remaining part with wood, as was the country near the harbour *de la Trinidad*. At length they entered the port of *Guadaluppe*, in 57 deg. 11 min. and 34 deg. 12 min. to the west of *San Blas*. However, they soon got under sail again, and, on the 18th, came to an anchor in the harbour of *Remedios*, in 57 deg. 18 min. N. lat. and 34 deg. 12 min. to the west of *San Blas*. Here they erected a cross, and took possession of this country—a country which the Russians had discovered and frequented long before. They got but one mast, some wood, and a little water, and then proceeded to the southward. In 55 deg. 17 min. they saw the harbour of *Bukarelli*, and took in wood and water. By this time they had many of their people ill of the scurvy; on which account they were obliged to hasten to *Monterey*. In 38 deg. 18 min.

18 min. they entered a harbour, which they called *de la Bodega*, after the Lieutenant of that name; here they lost their boat by a high tide, and afterwards went to Monterey. At this time they were almost all of them afflicted with the scurvy. Being recovered, and having refreshed themselves, they set sail again, and on the 16th of November came again to the harbour of *San Blas*.

The Spaniards have in former times undertaken very considerable voyages of discovery; but, in the last century, superstition, indolence, and the decline of their manufactures and trade, together with a false system of politics and other causes, threw them into a kind of lethargy, out of which, however, they begin to awake, under the present Government.

C H A P. V.

Of the Discoveries and Voyages made by the Portuguese in the North.

UNDER the spirited and patriotic direction of the Infant *Dox Henry*, of glorious memory, the Portuguese were become the discoverers of a great many different countries. The science of Geography, and the art of Navigation, were more indebted in the 15th century to this nation than to any other. The renowned name of *Vasco Gama*, fired the men and youth of Portugal to emulation and glorious exploits; and heroes, without number, were seen treading in the steps of their predecessors. Immense riches resulting from the commerce with the Indies, were continually navigated up the Tagus. The advantages resulting from this wealthy commerce brought with
them

them in their train luxury, pride, and all the vices incident to prosperity, which serve to relax the sinews of industry, virtue, and true religion, and thereby gradually to undermine the well-being of the state. The loss of its ancient Royal Family, together with the circumstance of the crown having passed into the hands of Philip II. of Spain; the conquests made by the Dutch in India and Brasil, and the daily-increasing oppression on freedom of thought, by the growing power of the Monks and of the Inquisition, chiefly contributed to degrade this nation, once so active and renowned for noble enterprizes, to a state of ignoble indolence and sordid insensibility. For some time, indeed, they resumed their wonted spirit, in consequence of the revolution and of the accession of the family of *Braganza* to the throne. But the new source of riches opened in the gold and diamond mines of Brasil, served only still more to degrade this nation, which was already quite in its wane. Her commerce with the English drained her of her riches, and in lieu thereof furnished her with the fruits of their industry; agriculture, the liberal arts, trade, tactics, and navigation, were neglected to such a degree, that of each of them nothing remained, but a mere shadow. These evils, it is true, *Pombal* endeavoured to remedy; but he was too odious, his measures too cruel and unjust, and the nation fallen too low for it to be possible for him to revive her spirit. This land, however favoured by nature, is still too deeply enveloped in the darkness of superstition. Its lazy, greedy, and too-numerous Monks are too much disposed to suck the fat and very marrow out of it. The Government is too little acquainted with the true principles of political œconomy, and is not solicitous enough to render its indolent citizens active and industrious. Arts and sciences, trade and agriculture, the true pillars of every state, are sunk too low, a circumstance which increases daily the weakness and feebleness of the state. She is consequently in great

danger of being swallowed up the first opportunity that may offer by her neighbour, *Spain*, who daily increases in power and greatness.

But at the period when Portugal was still in her glory, while her sons were still animated with the spirit of enterprize and action, and when the Government attended to every object of importance that presented itself; at this time Portugal looked upon all the discoveries made by Spain in the new world, as upon so many encroachments made on her own rights and property, maugre the donation made by an usurping Pope, and of the compromise for half the world, which she had reluctantly agreed to. It was a similar kind of jealousy that inspired *Caspar de Cortereal*, a man of birth and family, with the resolution of discovering new countries, and a new route to India. He set sail from Lisbon in 1500, or, as others affirm, in 1501. In the course of his navigation he arrived at *Newfoundland* in a bay, which he thence named *Conception Bay*, an appellation it still retains. He explored the whole eastern coast of the island, and went at length to the mouth of the great river of *Canada*. After this, he discovered a land, which he at first named *Terra Verde*, but which, in remembrance of the discoverer, was afterwards called *Terra de Cortereal*. That part of it which, being on this side of the 50th deg. of N. lat. he thought was still fit for tillage and cultivation, he named *Terra de Labrador*, a tract which *Sebastian Munster*, in his *Cosmography*, has called *Terra Agricola*. It is highly probable that Cortereal, being come to *Button's Islands* and *Cape Chidley*, did, *bona fide*, suppose this to be the strait that leads into the Indian Sea. It is likewise said, that this strait obtained at that time from *Cortereal*, the name of *Anian*, after two brothers of that name. After making this important discovery, *Cortereal* hastened to communicate the interesting news of it to his native country; and he had scarcely delivered his intelligence before he hastened back again to visit the coast of *Labrador*, and to go to India through the straits of *Anian*, which he imagined he had just discovered. But nothing farther was ever heard

heard of him; so that he must either have been murdered by the *Eskimaux* savages, or have perished in the ice. Upon this, his brother, *Michael de Cortereal*, undertook the same voyage with two ships, and probably met with the same fate as his brother. No intelligence having been heard of either of the two brothers, their eldest brother, *Joao Vasquez de Cortereal*, who was Chamberlain to the King, resolved to undertake the same voyage, in hopes of finding his brothers; but the King would not by any means allow him to expose himself to so imminent a danger.

II. Amongst the nations who carried on a considerable fishery off the banks of Newfoundland, we find at a very early period the Biscayners, Spaniards, and Portuguese; for so early as the year 1578, Capt. *Anthony Parkhurst* counted 50 Portuguese ships off the coast of Newfoundland, which all together carried at least 3000 tons burthen. Here we must observe that so considerable a fishery never springs up all at once, but is established by degrees only; consequently it must have been carried on a good while before it could have risen to the height at which it then was. Now the French having fished on this coast so far back as in the year 1504, it is very probable that the Portuguese, either at the same period, or at least not long after, must have fished there also. This evidently shews the great extent of the navigation, as well as the active and industrious disposition of the Portuguese at that time, since they carried on the fishery on the banks and coast of Newfoundland with such spirit as to employ upwards of 50 sail on this business, at a time when as yet there were but very few English ships that followed the fishery.

III. In *Lucas Fox's* Book, called *The North-west Fox*, London, 4to. 1635, page 162 *, we find an affidavit made by one *Thomas Cowles*, an English sailor, of *Badminton*, in *Somersetshire*. This affidavit was made in the year 1579, in an age when an oath was still universally considered

* This relation is taken by *Fox*, from *Purchas's Pilgrims*. Part III. page 849. E. T.

as a most serious and religious act. The contents of it are, that Cowles being six years before (consequently in 1573) at Lisbon, in Portugal, had heard one *Martin Chacke*, or *Chaque*, a Portuguese mariner, read a book, which he, *Martin Chacke*, had written and published in the Portuguese language 6 years before (viz. in 1567). In this book he affirmed, that 12 years before (viz. in 1555) he had set sail from India for Portugal, in a small vessel of about 80 tons, accompanied by four very large ships of great burthen; but was separated from the other four in a storm with a westerly wind. He had passed by many islands, and at length sailed through a gulph near Newfoundland, according to his reckoning in 59 deg. N. lat. and after having shot the said gulph, he had seen no more land till he fell in with the north-west part of Ireland, from whence he had shaped his course for Lisbon, where he arrived a month or five weeks sooner than the other four ships. Were this relation of such a nature as to be in any wise depended upon, it would be a strong proof of a passage having been actually discovered. But the single unsupported testimony of a sailor, who had heard the description of a voyage like this read in a book, which perhaps was only a romance, carries not the least weight with it; and consequently it would be as absurd to place any dependence on it, as it would be, after having read M. *Bushing's* Extract from *De Foe's* Romance, intitled, "A New Voyage round the World, by a course never failed before," to conclude, that such a voyage had been actually undertaken in the years 1713 and 1715, and that a rich gold country, together with a pearl island, such as are there described, had been really and *bona fide* discovered. Besides, we are sure at present, in consequence of Hudson's Bay having been so often explored, that we need not seek any more for a passage in those parts. The voyages of the Spaniards, English, and Russians, along the western coast of America, have also at present rendered it pretty probable that no passage is to be

be expected there ; and that the imaginary strait of *Anjoy*, or *Anian*, can only exist in the weak brains of idle visionaries, supposing by this name to be meant a strait, leading from the South-Sea into Hudson's Bay. For in other respects the strait between Asia and America, which I have named *Beering's*, and others, *Cook's*, and others again, *Descbneff's Straits*, might likewise just as well be called the *Straits of Anian*.

IV. The Jesuit *de Angelis*, a native of Portugal, went in the years 1620 and 1621, to the coast of *Matfmai*, as did also Father *Jacob Caravalho*. Both of them relate, that on the island of *Eso*, or *Yedso*, in the vicinity of the town of *Matfmai*, there are very rich silver mines, in which there are about 50,000 Japanese at work, some of them voluntarily and by their own choice, but the others are criminals condemned by the laws to labour, among whom there were at that time many Christians ; and in a river that runs close by the town of *Matfmai*, or *Matsumai*, there is collected a great quantity of gold-dust. The inhabitants of the eastern parts bring to market the skins of a fish (the sea-otter) which they buy from some of the neighbouring islands, which are three in number. The animal to which these skins appertain is called a *raccon*, and a skin costs about 20 crowns. Every inhabitant of *Matfmai* is his own master ; they are a strong, well-made, good-natured people ; they wear their beards long, and large ear-rings, either of silver or silk. Their weapons consist of bows and arrows (which latter are poisoned) of spears, and of short swords or daggers. They wear Cuirasses, composed of small wooden boards. In *Matsumai* they get wine in exchange for furs, birds feathers, and different kinds of fishes ; they also barter for rice, together with silk, cotton, and linen clothes. They worship the sun, the moon, and the Gods of the mountains and seas ; and have at the best but a very imperfect idea of a future state ; they, however, are a very humane, sociable, and good sort of people. These few particulars are all that is known of the nature of the land of *Eso* and *Matsumai*.

V. In

V. In a map of India, published for the first time at Lisbon, in 1649, by *Peter Texeira*, Cosmographer to the King of Portugal ; and which, as well as many other of his works, proves him to be a very skilful and accurate geographer ; we find first, a group of islands laid down at 10 or 12 degrees to the north-east of Japan, in 44 and 45 deg. N. lat. and then a coast stretches from west to east, with the following words annexed : “ Land of *Joao da Gama*, the Indian, seen by him in sailing from China to New Spain *. In what year this voyage happened is not known. Neither is it possible to determine with any certainty, who this *Joao da Gama* was. He seems, however, to have been a sea-faring man, born in India, but of Portuguese extraction. This land, laid down by *Texeira*, is probably no other than the isle of *Urup*, or the island *Samussir*, or *Schimussyr*, the latter of which is about 130 wersts, i. e. 76 geographical miles in length. It is true, *Texeira* has laid down the coast, stretching out in one continued line quite to the straits of *Anian* (*Estreito de Anian*) which lie between Asia and America ; but one may plainly perceive from this very draught, that he had no exact information with respect to the continuation of the Asiatic coast ; for, according to him, the straits of *Anian* are in 50 deg. N. lat. which is certainly very far from being the case.

VI. Lastly, I find in Mr. *Buache's Considerations Geographiques et Physiques*, Paris 4to. 1753, page 138, an account which says, that in 1701, a sailor from *Havre de Grace* had seen, 28 years before, at *Oporto*, in Portugal, a ship called *lo Padre eterno*, commanded by Capt. *David Melguer*, who died just at that time, and at whose funeral he was present. This *Melguer* is said to have left Japan with his ship *Lo*

* Terra q. uio Do Joao da Gama Indo, da China para Nova Espaha.

Padre eterno, on the 16th of March, 1660, and to have sailed along the coast of Tartary, till he came to the 84th deg. of N. lat. and then to have shaped his course between Spitzbergen and Old Greenland, and so sailing to the west of Scotland and Ireland, to have at length entered the harbour of *Oporto*. This is the most material part of this relation, which, however, deserves no credit; for, ever since the years 1637 and 1638, the Portuguese and Spaniards have been absolutely banished from Japan, and that for ever. How then was it possible for a Portuguese ship, 22 years after that period, to sail from Japan, a place where this nation was no longer admitted nor suffered? This consideration alone is sufficient to prove, that the whole account is a mere rumour, and a story trumped up by some sailors, devoid even of the least shadow of probability arising from internal evidence.

At present we have no farther accounts concerning the navigations of the Portuguese to the North. They content themselves with navigating to their possessions in the Brasils, to the coast of Africa, the Azores, the Cape Verd Islands, and Madeira. It is but seldom that any of their ships go to Goa, Macao, and Timor. The present wretched state of the whole of their trade and navigation, together with the profound ignorance in which they are plunged, make it very difficult for them to pursue these navigations; consequently no more voyages to the north are to be expected from this nation, since it cannot reap any benefit from them.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Discoveries and Voyages of the Danes in the North.

THE descendants of the ancient Normans, who had been used to cross the most distant seas, with an intrepidity which has never yet been surpassed, not even in the present improved state of navigation ; these people, whose far-extending shores are for the greatest part surrounded by the sea, and part of them indeed gain their whole subsistence out of the sea by fishing, must undoubtedly understand more of navigation, and be more habituated to the coldness of the climate than any other nation. Neither can it be denied that, to this very day, the Norwegians and Danes are excellent sailors. Towards the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, the chief of their navigation consisted in their voyages to Iceland and Greenland. But even those to Greenland were at length entirely neglected.

I. In the year 1564, in the convent of *Helgafjæl*, in Iceland, the Governor of the island having confiscated all the revenues of the convent for the use of the King, there was found a blind Monk, who lived there in indigence and misery. This man the Governor sent for, and learned from him, that in his younger years he had been thrown into a convent by his parents, and that in the 30th year of his age, the Bishop of Greenland had taken him along with him to *Drontheim* in Norway, to the Archbishop : but, on their return, the Bishop had left him in this convent of *Helgafjæl*, in Iceland : all this passed in 1546. He next gives a description of Greenland, and of the convent of St. Thomas, in which he had formerly lived, which in every point is like that given by the *Zenos*, except that he had added some more

fables to it. And, as from what he told them, it was concluded that it was an easy matter to sail to China through the frozen sea, the Governor gave orders for one of the King's ships that had wintered in Iceland, to be provided with every necessary, and sent to Greenland. Accordingly they set sail on the 31st of March, 1564, and made Greenland on the 20th of April, but were prevented from landing by the ice, neither could they come to an anchor on account of the great depth of the sea. They went ashore therefore in the boat, clambering over the ice as well as they could. Near the shore they found a dead Greenlander in his little boat. Soon after their landing they were attacked by a white bear, which, however, they got the better of, and killed. A storm arising in the mean time, they went on board the ship again, and sailed eastward from Iceland to the northward, with the purpose of going through the White Sea into the sea of Tartary, and so on to Kathay; but they were prevented by the ice from proceeding farther, and therefore returned to Iceland on the 16th of June. This relation is to be found in *Dithmar Blefken's Islandia, five populorum, et mirabilium quæ in ea Insula reperiuntur, accuratior Descriptio*. Lugd. Bat. 8vo. 1607.

II. *Christian IV.* King of Denmark, too, was desirous of reviving the knowledge of Old Greenland, which had made part of the dominions of his ancestors, and with this view gave orders for a voyage of discovery to be made to that country. For this purpose he sent for some skilful pilots from England and Scotland, viz. *John Cunningham*, *James Hall*, and *John Knight*. He likewise fitted out three ships, and appointed as Admiral, to command the expedition, *Gotfke Lindenau*, a Danish nobleman, who, for his information, took with him the ancient Icelandic accounts of Greenland, together with the journal of *David von Nelle's* Voyage to Greenland, made by order of King *Frederick II.* On the 2d of May, 1605, they stretched out of the sound to sea. As they came near the ice, *Hall* shaped his course south-west;

Gotfke Lindenau, on the other hand, directed his north-east, and arrived on the eastern coast of Greenland. The natives came on board his ship. They drank train-oil, and were very eager after iron and steel. *Lindenau*, after staying here three days, detained two of them forcibly on board his ship, who, however, made a stout resistance, while, to procure them their liberty, the other savages shot off their arrows, and threw stones at the Europeans legs, but were soon dispersed by the firing off of a gun. *Gotfke Lindenau* then hastened to Copenhagen, where he arrived safe by himself.

James Hall went to the western coast of Greenland, where he found a great many harbours, very fine land, and good pasturage. The inhabitants here were more shy. They found many places flaming with burning brimstone; they likewise found a silver ore in the form of a black powder (*silver malm*) every hundred weight of which yielded at Copenhagen 26 ounces of silver. *Cape Farewell*, in 59 deg. 50 min. N. lat. he named *Cbristianus*, after the King his master. Five leagues farther on, the needle varied 12 deg. 15 min. to the west. A strong current drove him northward against the ice on the American coast; but on the coast of Greenland the current sets to the south. In exchange for iron, nails, knives, &c. he got seal-skins, sea unicorns horns (*narbwal*) sea-horse teeth, and whale-bone. Having staid some time in a harbour in 66 deg. 33 min. and traded with the inhabitants, they attacked him once on a sudden with stones and arrows; but, by firing a *falcon* amongst them, they were quickly dispersed. He was again attacked twice in the same manner. He then went into a harbour near *Mount Cunningham*, which he named *Denmark's Haven*. On this spot there were about 300 of the natives. The deep creeks in this part of the sea abound with salmon, herrings, whales, and seals. They saw there ravens, crows, pheasants, partridges (i. e. ptarmigans) gulls, and other kinds of fowl. There were black foxes in this country, and they saw the

the dung of stags, as also the horns of these animals. He then sailed farther on to 69 deg. The savages having behaved in a very hostile manner, he seized three of them, and found himself under the necessity of killing others. His captives he treated with great kindness, and took them to the King. In pursuance of express orders from the Stadtholder of Denmark, he put on shore two malefactors, condemned to die, having previously furnished them with provisions and other necessaries. On the 15th of July he was in 57 deg. and the next day, amongst some loose ice, he met with a large shoal of whales; the current set to the N. W. On the 1st of August, he fell in with an incredible quantity of herrings, which led him to suppose, that he was in the vicinity of the *Orkneys*. On the 10th he came to an anchor in *Helsingor* Road.

III. The good success of this voyage encouraged the King to enter upon a second enterprize of this kind, which was undertaken in 1606, in which year, on the 27th of May, five ships set sail from Copenhagen, under the command of *Gotzke Lindenau* and *James Hall*. On the 4th of August they reached Greenland with four ships, the fifth having been separated from them in a storm. They sailed along the coast, entered the several harbours, and saw some reindeer; but the savages treated them in a very hostile manner, though at first they had begun to trade with them for iron. At their departure the Danes took five savages prisoners, one of whom leaped overboard, and was drowned. On their way home they found the ship again that had been separated from them, and at length on the 5th of October, arrived in Copenhagen.

IV. Though nothing new had been discovered by this voyage, and no advantage had accrued from it, yet the King resolved once more to send out two ships, which he did in 1607, under the command of a Holsteiner, by name *Karsten Richardt*. One of these vessels was commanded by *James Hall*. They left the *Sound* on the 13th of May, and got sight of Greenland on the 8th of June. Endeavouring to force their

their way to the land through the great quantity of ice, by which it was furrounded, the ships were separated. *Richardt*, after making several fruitless attempts, was obliged to return home, without having done any thing; and while *Hall* was in like manner using his best endeavours to get through the ice, the Danish crew, under his command, mutinying, forced him to tack about, and make the best of his way to Iceland. Consequently this expedition proved abortive.

V. It being known that in the year 1610, *Henry Hudson* had discovered a new strait, and beyond it a great sea, *Christian IV.* King of Denmark, imagined, that in this sea there might possibly be a passage to the East-Indies, which would be productive of great advantages; he therefore ordered two ships to be fitted out in 1619, and gave the command of them to *Jens Munck*. *Munck* sailed from the *Sound* on the 16th of May, in the same year, and on the 20th of June, saw *Cape Farewell*. He passed through *Hudson's Straits*, which he named after his King, *Fretum Christiani*, or *Christian's Straits*. On an island in the first strait they found deer (viz. reindeer) one of which they shot, and thence named the place *Deer's Island*; it is in 61 deg. 20 min. N. lat. The sea near America (viz. the coast of Labrador) he called *Mare Novum* (or the New Sea) and to that next to Greenland (if indeed it be Greenland) he gave the name of *Mare Christianum* (or *Christian's Sea*). In 63 deg. 20 min. he met with so much ice, that it was absolutely impossible for him to proceed any farther; this made him stand over to the southward, when he put into *Churchill's River*. Here on shore he saw a stone with an image upon it, which had claws and horns. They also found some dogs that wore muzzles, and the fire-places and remains of the huts of savages. They ate white bear's flesh, hares, and partridges, and caught four black foxes, and some fables. Their beer, wine, and brandy, were frozen, and burst the casks. The ice was from 300 to 360 feet thick. The greatest part of them fell sick of the scurvy, which was followed by a flux. On the 4th of June

Munck

Munck fell ill himself, and lay four days without either eating or drinking, for their provisions were nearly exhausted. Notwithstanding this, he recovered, and, crawling out of his hut, out of 64 persons, of which his crew at first consisted, found but two alive. These two were overjoyed to see their Captain, and they all three endeavoured to comfort each other, seeking for food amongst the snow. They dug up some roots, which they ate, and which proved a powerful restorative to them. On the 18th, the waters being open, they began to fish for salmons and trouts, and soon after entirely recovered their healths. At length they left the larger ship in the river, which he named *Munck's Harbour*, and set sail with the smaller vessel. They now lost their boat, and the ice broke their rudder, which they repaired with great difficulty; however, when the ice broke up, they found their boat again, which they had lost 10 days before. After weathering a very dangerous storm, which had broke their mast, and had nearly carried away their sail, they at length landed safe in a harbour in Norway, and, a few days after, arrived at Copenhagen, where the King, who had long given them up for lost, received them with great astonishment. This *Munck* was afterwards employed by the King in the years 1624, 1625, and 1627, on the northern sea, and on the Elbe, and died on the 3d of June, 1628, in the course of a naval expedition. The King had in the year 1620 established a new *Greenland Company*, which was to have sent out two ships every year on the whale-fishery; but this Company was dissolved again in 1624, on account of their being so poor, that they could not follow the whale-fishery any longer; and the King gave leave to any Danish burgher whatever, to go to Greenland.

VI. In 1636 the King again established a new *Greenland Company*, which accordingly sent out the first ships on the 6th of April; but, agreeably to the stupid prejudices of those times, did not pay the least attention to the killing of seals, or the cod-salmon-and whale-fisheries,

nor

nor to any other useful production of the country ; but confined their search to gold and silver only. A great quantity of glittering sand was brought over from Greenland, which, however, proved to be mere rubbish. By this incident the proprietors were quite disheartened, and the Company dissolved itself.

VII. In the month of November, 1773, a letter from M. *de la Lande*, was inserted in the *Journal des Savans*, setting forth, that on the 1st of June, 1769, a Danish King's ship, called the *Northern Crown*, and commanded by the *Baron von Uhlefeld*, had set sail from *Bornholm*, in *Norway* (where, by the bye, there is no such place as *Bornholm*) furnished with provisions for 18 months, and provided with astronomers, draughtsmen, and every necessary. This ship, it seems, had found in *Hudson's Bay*, a passage into the American sea, above *California*. In the straits they found a great number of buffaloes and wild beasts, and, after having suffered great hardships, they arrived on the 11th of February, 1773, through the straits of *Le Maire*, near the *Isle of Rofs* in *Ireland*, and went into *Bremen*, because of the *Sound* being frozen, and at length, after an absence of 3 years, 7 months, and 11 days, arrived at *Copenhagen*.

It is easy to perceive, that the whole of the preceding relation is the invention of some genius of more leisure than veracity, who, knowing the world to be extremely solicitous concerning the result of *Capt. Cook's* expedition, has endeavoured by this fictitious voyage, to divert their attention and expectations from it. Indeed the particular aim of the author seems to have been, by pre-occupying the attention of the public, to make it indifferent with regard to *Cook's* discoveries, and take from the great merit of this immortal man : but the name of

Cook

Cook will never fall into oblivion, though ten such fictitious voyages as these were brought in opposition to him. Perhaps, too, a spirit of animosity and resentment, excited by the decisive steps which England took, in 1771, against Spain, on account of the Falkland's Islands, and against Denmark on account of the Queen Caroline Matilda, contributed not a little to the invention of this curious romance. In these days it would not be of the least advantage to Denmark, either to make new discoveries to the north, or to find a passage to the Indies; consequently there is no likelihood that they should be at any expence to carry into execution a plan from which she could reap so little benefit.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Discoveries and Voyages of the Russians in the North.

A GREAT part of the country, at present called Russia, was inhabited towards the north-east and north, from the most remote ages, by a people of *Finnish* origin, perhaps descended from the ancient Scythians. Towards the north-west were tribes, consisting of a mixture of *Sauromates* and Grecian colonists, and from them are descended the modern *Lithuanians*, *Lettovians*, *Livonians*, and *Courlanders*; as were also the ancient *Prussians*. The whole southern part of Russia, even to the Crimea, was for some time inhabited by *Goths*; and between the Wolga, the Don, and Mount Caucasus, dwelled a nation descended from the Medes, called *Sauromates*, i. e. the Northern

thern Medes. In process of time, when nations of barbarians issued one after the other, in swarms, from the east, and some of the different tribes of Goths had, since the middle of the third century, penetrated into the western regions of the Roman empire; part of the Sauromates found themselves under the necessity of retiring farther to the northward and westward. Even at that early period they had the same political constitution which we still see take place amongst them. Each individual of the nation was either master or slave. Hence those who were of distinction among them, called themselves tribes, *Slaw*, and *Slawne*, or Noblemen; whence again all such as were either renowned for, or even capable only of performing great achievements, were in process of time in like manner called *Slawne*. Under this denomination it was that they became known to the Europeans, who were not till very lately acquainted with the particular tribes of those nations. These tribes had their appellation frequently from some river, town, or region. So the *Polabes* were named after the *Laba*, or Elbe. The *Pomeranians* dwelled *po moru*, or near the sea. The *Havellanians*, near the river *Havel*; the *Maroaro*, or *Moravians*, or *Marabani*, on the banks of the river *Morawa*. The *Warnabi* had once their residence near the *Warnow*, and the *Polotzani* on the banks of the *Polota*. In the mountains (*Chrebet*) lived the *Chrobates*; the *Tollenfians* were named after the river *Tollenfea* in Pomeraniaciterior, which empties itself into the *Peene*, near *Demmin*. From *Sidin*, or *Sedin*, the Stettin of the moderns, one tribe was named *Sidinians*; another from *Brizen* (Treunbrizen) *Brizanians*; from *Kuffin*, a town subsisting in those early times, the *Kiffinians* took their name, the traces of whom are still to be found in a village near Rostock, called *Kessen*, or *Kiffen*; and lastly, the *Lutitzians* were named after *Loitz*, on the river *Peine*. But there are also some names of these tribes which are original; as for example, the *Sarbs*, or *Serbs*, the *Tschechs*, or Bohemians;

Bohemians, the *Lachs*, *Lechs*, or *Polatzes*, i. e. the Poles; and from the more modern Waregian *Rossi*, the *Russians*, about the year 862, had their name. The storm which, in the train of *Attila*, from the year 435 to 456, spread terror and devastation over the earth, was but short and transient. In the mean time came the Turkish tribes, which till then had dwelled in *Great Turkey* (i. e. Little Bukharia) and *Turkistan* (where is still subsisting on the banks of the Taras the town of *Turkistan*) and established new empires. The empire of the *Wlazi*, or *Wolochi*, or *Wologars*, or *Wolgars*, or *Bulgarians*, is in like manner called *Great Bulgaria*; it is situated beyond the *Wolga*, on the banks of the Kama, Bielaia, and Samara; the empire of *Borkab* or *Ardu* of the Aseonian Türks extended on this side of the *Wolga* from *Uwieck*, near Saratof, quite to Mount Caucasus. One part of these were called *Kumani*, or *Komani*, from the river *Kuma*, and their town was named *Kumager* *. Farther on resided the *Madjschiars*, *Maschbarts*, *Pascatirs*, or *Baschkirs*, a tribe of Finnish origin, near the mountains of Ufal and the Bielaia. Soon after this came more Turkish tribes, viz. the *Chazars*, the *Petshenegs*, the *Uzians*, and the *Polowzians*, and even the *Bulgarians* advanced into the southern part of Russia, and into Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Crimea.—In the mean time Russia was governed by its Great Dukes, who, together with their Noblesse, were of the Waregian race. The division of the empire into a number of small principalities, the pretensions made by the lesser Princes to the sovereignty, together with the excessive power and wealth of the clergy, all contributed to weaken it; for the petty Princes were seldom entirely satisfied with their Great-Dukes, whence arose trifling contestations and destructive civil wars. But in the 13th century, on

* The ruins which at present go under the name of the ruins of *Madjschiar*, appear to be rather the remains of this town of *Kumager* on the banks of the *Kuma* and *Bymara*. The word *Kumakir* signifies, in the Turkish language, the *plain of Kuma*. In fact, there is round this very spot an extensive plain, and by this word *Kumager*, we must understand the *town of the plain of Kuma*.

شهر قوصه قير *Shahr Kumakir*.

the banks of the rivers *Onon* and *Kerlon*, there started up a new empire, which gave celebrity to the before-unknown nation of *Mongols* (or *Moguls*) under *Temudschin*, who in 1201, soon after his victories over the *Taißu*, and over the *Naimans* and *Mekritts*, or *Merkitts*, and several inroads made into the Land of *Tangut*, had the name of *Zingbis Kan* given him by all the hordes subject to his command. The victories of this great monarch were very rapid and extensive. He gave his sons the command of some Mogul tribes, together with some of the conquered nations; and they went forth to subdue the nations of Asia to the power of *Zingbis Khan*. *Tuschi Khan*, one of his sons, was, in the year 1211, to attack the inhabitants of *Gete* * and *Kaptschak*, that is, of the southern part of Russia, from the *Dniepr* to the *Emba*, or *Yemba*, and all the nations that lived to the westward. The *Komanians*, the *Wlachs*, the *Bulgarians*, and *Hungarians*, or *Madfschiars*, were conquered by *Tuschi*. His son, *Batu Khan*, attacked the Russians and *Polowzians*, and defeated them in a great battle near the river *Kalka*, which runs into the sea of Azof near the Don. The Mogul Chiefs, insolent, and elate with victory, often oppressed the Russians in various ways. On the other hand, the Russian Princes, induced by false ambition and petty contests amongst themselves, used to repair to the Golden Horde of the Khan, near the *Wolga*, there to purchase with shameful humiliations and lavish presents, the title of Great Duke. The Moguls, in the mean time, in consequence of their internal and civil dissensions and wars, decreased in power, and the Russian Princes at length became ashamed to worship such a mere shadow of power

* *Gete*, according to *Des Guignes*, is a country situated to the west and south-west of the river *Irtish*; but *Danville* places it to the north of the country of *Turfan*, or to the south of the *Upper Irtish*.

and grandeur, and to hold of these insolent invaders claim to the Great Dukedom, when it would be so much more honourable to derive it from their own valour. *Iwan Waffilewitsch* was the first Great-Duke, who, in the latter part of the 15th century, broke through this humiliating ceremony, refusing to pay the customary tribute, and defeating the Moguls at different times. *Iwan Waffilewitsch*, the first *Czar*, and *Self-upholder* of all the Russias, came to the throne in the year 1533. He made the conquest of Casan and Astrachan, and extended the power and dominion of Russia to a great distance. He found that the Cossacs of the Don did great hurt to his subjects by their depredations, and disturbed the public peace. In the year 1577, therefore, he sent a considerable force to punish these depredators. Before this body of men arrived, some of them had the prudence to fly from the approaching storm. *Yermak Temofeeff*, a valiant Cossac, very expert in the art of war, and held in great estimation among his brethren, as being a man of abilities and resolution, making his escape, went up the river Kama and the Tschussowaya, with 6 or 7000 men. Here he met with a nephew of the famous *Anika Stroganoff*, from whom the present Counts and Barons *Stroganoff* are descended. His name was *Maximius Stroganoff*, and he possessed part of the lands bequeathed to his ancestors by the crown. He received this troop of banditti kindly, in order to avoid being used ill by them. Here *Yermak* had intelligence that some barbarous nations, viz. the *Baschkirs*, *Wotes*, *Ostiaks*, and *Tscheremisses*, bore very hard upon the Russian subjects near the Kama, and that they were secretly supported and their hands strengthened by *Kutschum*, Khan of Siberia. Determined to take vengeance for these depredations, he went up the rivers in the years 1578, 1579, and 1580, and at last reached *Tura*, where he conquered several petty Chiefs of the Tartars, and passed the winter at *Cbingi*. His army, however, was now diminished to 1636 men. He defeated the Tartars once more in the year 1587;

1587; but the whole of his forces then consisted only of 1060 men. He was forced to fight many more battles, however, before he could reach the Irtysh and pursue his victories; at length, having totally routed Kutschum Khan, and put him to flight, he made his public entry into *Sibir*. The *Ostiaks* and *Woguls*, Kutschum's ancient subjects, now submitted to Yermak, and even great numbers of Tartars acknowledged his sovereignty. Yermak had made a considerable booty, and had, besides, received very valuable presents from his new subjects. He now regulated the tribute they should pay, and sent a Cossack, of the name of *Ataman*, to the Czar at Moscow, with the news of his victory. At the same time he craved the Czar's pardon, sent him the choicest furs by way of tribute, and requested that some succours might be given him. The Czar, in return, sent him presents, granted him a pardon, and confirmed him in his new dignity. He likewise obtained the succours desired; but, in consequence of his extreme avidity to extend his victories, the too easy credit he gave to every false report, and of his neglect to lay in a stock of provisions, the greater part of his army was starved to death, and he himself perished, upon an expedition on the Irtysh. *Sibir*, and all the new conquests were lost for a time; but greater forces were soon sent, towns built, peopled, and fortified, and in a few years the victories and acquisitions of the Russians went in rapid progression from one river to another, from one wandering tribe to another, till in the year 1639, Dmitrei Kopiloff at length reached the eastern coast of Asia, not far from the spot where Ochotsk now stands. If we cast but a glance on the map, we shall see that in the space of 59 years, by means of a kind of undisciplined chasseurs and light troops, there was annexed to the Russian empire a tract of country which extends nearly 80 deg. in length, and in the north even reaches to the 185th deg. of long. east of Ferro, and consequently far beyond a 4th part of the globe; and in breadth extends above 25 deg. viz. from the 75th to the 50th deg. of northern latitude. We need only read the history of these conquests
in

in order to get an idea of the stedfast, undaunted, and resolute disposition of the Russian nation. Their bodies inured to bear the greatest hardships, their strength and the soundness of their constitutions are equal to the spirit with which they accomplished such vast conquests. But in the midst of this great success and accession of wealth and power, this mighty empire which had not kept pace with the western Europeans in the rapid progress made by these latter towards civilization, found it difficult to resist the power of the petty kingdom of Sweden. Very fortunately however for this empire, Providence bestowed upon it a man, who, though his education had been entirely neglected, though he was surrounded by such as used their best endeavours to give a false bias to all his talents and mental qualities; who, though he had prejudices to conquer, which might be thought insurmountable, yet possessed spirit and courage sufficient to give himself an education, and form himself, even at the age of maturity; and was besides endowed with penetration enough to know those who were about him, and their just value, and not to be mistaken in the choice of his new servants; a man, finally, who, well acquainted with the proper mode of informing the minds of his people, caused them to make almost instantaneously, hasty strides towards cultivation and refinement, and gave them weight in the political system of Europe. In short, a Prince, who, by his creative genius, prepared his people for the greatness and splendor in which they now appear, under the government of his great Niece, to the admiration and astonishment of all Europe.

The discoveries of this nation in the North have met with very able historians. The conquest of Siberia has the pre-eminence over all the conquests of other Princes of the earth. By these countries have been laid waste and depopulated, and frequently a very inconsiderable tract of land is purchased with the blood of many thousands of men. The conquest of Siberia, on the other hand, cost hardly any blood at all; and since it has been conquered, this country is populated and

cultivated, and is continually advancing in wealth, population, and happiness.

This History has been written at large by *M. John Eberhard Fischer*, of the Academy of Peterburgh, with great fidelity and exactness. The first discoveries of the Russians along the coasts of the northern ocean, the certainty that Asia does not join to America, the distance between the Russian dominions and Japan, and the distance of the same from America; all this has been set in the clearest light by the late learned Counsellor of state*, *Geo. Fred Muller*, in the third volume of his *Collection of Russian History*. Finally, that great naturalist, Professor *Pallas*, has, with a laudable diligence and accuracy, continued in his *New Northern Collections*, the history of the latest discoveries made since M. Muller's history was published, and particularly since the commencement of the reign of the great Catherine II. It would therefore be highly improper to give here a history of the voyages of discovery made by the Russians in the North. This needs not, like the history of the discoveries made by other nations, to be collected, with great pains and labour, out of many different and extremely scarce works, but is in the hands of every body, in works which are entirely new, very well known, and written with a truly philosophical spirit. I shall now only subjoin a few general observations.

The capacious mind of the immortal Peter, first chalked out the whole plan of these different voyages of discovery, and his Empress, and all the subsequent Monarchs, particularly Anne and Elizabeth, contributed every thing in their power towards carrying it into execution. They went from Archangel to the Ob, from the Ob to the Jenisei. From the Jenisei they reached the Lena, by travelling partly by water and partly by land. From the Lena they went to the eastward as

* The English reader will find the want of these authors in a great measure compensated by Mr. Cox's elegant *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, 4to. 1780.

far as the *Judigirka*. From *Ochotsk* they went along by the Kurile Islands to *Japan*. *Beering* had already previously to this, navigated the northern coast of Kamtschatka to the 76th deg. of northern latitude, and now they again undertook an extensive voyage, in order to discover the American continent from Kamtschatka, an enterprize in which Commodore *Beering*, as well as Captain *Tschirikow*, succeeded. Besides the particular objects of their researches, both saw some islands, and *Beering* was stranded upon one of them, not far from Kamtschatka. He died there; and his crew made a small vessel out of the wrecks of the ship, and stood into the harbour of Peter and Paul, in Kamtschatka. After this, some merchants and freebooters went, with permission of the Crown, to make discoveries, hunt, trade, and collect the tribute; and though the vessels, in which these first adventurers went, consisted of nothing but a few wretched boards fastened together with leathern thongs, discovered notwithstanding in the year 1745 and 1750, a group of islands, which were called the *Aleutian* Islands. Farther on, another group was found, which were called the *Andreanoff* Islands; and last of all they descried the *Black-Fox* Islands, which were near the American continent. This whole group composes a very remarkable archipelago, which certainly with great justice was called, in honour of the great *Catherina* II. the *Catherina Archipelago*. It extends from Kamtschatka to the point of land called *Alaska*, in North-America. From this very same land of Kamtschatka a chain of islands extends to Japan. Kamtschatka, North-America, Japan, the Kuriles, and also the *Catherina* Islands, have all different volcanos, of which some are extinct, and some still continue burning. These volcanos daily occasion new and considerable revolutions in these regions. They form a chain of mountains, by which the two continents have been formerly connected, in

like manner as they have also, in all probability, been joined to each other in Beering's Straits. A flood that has come from the south-west, and taken its course to the north-eastward, has also formed here the point of Kamtschatka, called *Lopatka*, together with the bay of Ochotsk, and the Penschinian Bay, and swept away with it in its course a great quantity of earth, which has remained there, lying on the bottom, and has caused the shelves upon which now the ice is so often lodged at present, and by which it is prevented from dissolving. It is not my province to determine when this great flood happened, nor by what means it was produced. We have ocular evidence that a great and violent revolution of this kind has actually happened. The islands with the volcanos on them, are accessory proofs of the truth of my system, viz. that islands are formed from the continent being broken into a great many pieces.

These *Catharina Islands*, and the adjacent continent of North-America, would afford to a diligent naturalist a thousand subjects for interesting observations, should it at any time please the Great Catherine, for the advancement of science in general, and of geography and the knowledge of nations in particular, to give orders for the undertaking of a voyage, which would greatly contribute to extend human knowledge, prove extremely beneficial to the great empire she rules, and by which she would acquire eternal honour and fame from a grateful posterity.

Nos sequimur probabilia, nec ultra id quod verisimile occurrit progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinacia et refelli sine iracundia, parati sumus.

M. TULLIUS Cic. Tusculanor. Quæst L. II. p. 340. edit. Elzevir.

GENERAL

GENERAL REMARKS

ON THE

DISCOVERIES made in the NORTH;

TOGETHER WITH

Physical, Anthropological, Zoological, Botanical, and Mineralogical
Reflections on the Objects occurring in those Regions.

THE globe of this earth, as far as we hitherto know it, contains a much greater quantity of land elevated above the surface of the sea, in the northern part, than do the opposite polar regions in the south, which, to those who have explored them, have constantly exhibited nothing but a wide extensive sea. On this principle it is that I have endeavoured to demonstrate in a former work, that in all probability the northern regions, taken collectively, are warmer, particularly in summer, than the southern. See my *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, page 99. In fact, the great depth of the sea absorbs the solar rays, which likewise are not capable of imparting warmth to the prodigiously extensive, and withal denser sea, so easily as they do to the much-more rarified fluid of the atmosphere. The land, on the contrary, reflects the rays of the sun in every direction; in consequence of which they cross each other, and observations have shewn, that it is by its collected beams only that the sun is capable of generating a considerable degree of warmth. This is confirmed by the experience of all navigators in the northern regions, who, when between the 70th and

8th degrees of latitude, frequently speak of a heat powerful enough to melt the pitch with which the ship is paid. On the other hand, in the south, the temperature of the air is much colder; and in those parts they never enjoy the comforts of a warm day.

In the cold countries there are a great many different species of tale and mica, as likewise a great quantity of the steatites and lapis ollaris, particularly in Greenland and Hudson's Bay, as likewise at Spitzbergen. Volcanic productions are found in great abundance in Greenland, Iceland, the western coast of North-America, the Catherine and Kurile Islands, and in Kamtschatka. Of metals there has been found native copper in Hudson's Bay, and in the Copper island near Kamtschatka. Bear, or Cherry Island contains a considerable quantity of lead, and likewise some native silver. In Greenland a silver and even gold earth are said to have been discovered.

The coast of Greenland consists entirely of high sharp-pointed rocks on both sides. In Hudson's Bay, however, these mountains begin to be less steep, and in some parts of it, there are even flat level shores. Iceland is throughout, as well as Spitzbergen, a high rocky country. Nova-Zembla has the same appearance. The whole northern coast of Siberia is flat and low. The eastern coast of Asia, as far as to the extreme point of Kamtschatka, is for the most part high and rocky. The American coast, on the contrary, is low and flat, but to the south of *Alaska* it begins to be higher.

Hudson's Bay, Baffin's Bay, and all the little seas from Labrador to Cape Farewell are evidently made by the sea having broken in upon the land. This likewise appears from the lofty top of Cape Farewell and the high rocks on the eastern side of Resolution and Salisbury Islands, and of all the islands in Hudson's Bay, which terminate in flats to the westward, as though the earth had been washed away from them

them by a flood rushing on them from the east. Greenland has an inlet to the eastward of it, and to the westward an island, viz. Iceland. Spitzbergen has a promontory in the south-west, and to the south-east an island. All the shores of the Icy Sea along Siberia are flat, and the seas that lie to the northwards of this country are very shallow. What we had to observe with respect to the physical influence of the situation of the sea between Asia and America, near Kamtschatka, has been already touched upon at page 482.

The seas in these regions are very cold, and partly covered with ice. The observation, that the ocean freezes here even so early as in August or September, and that in winter it is covered over in the space of one night with ice several inches thick, is now fully confirmed. The ice therefore is not the production of the rivers running into the ocean, but of the ocean itself. The large masses are impelled by the wind one over the other, and thus form thick and lofty clumps of ice. But various are the ways in which ice is formed. We can never say, this is the method which nature pursues in producing a certain effect; for she has a variety of means to accomplish her intentions, which man is not able to discover otherwise than by slow degrees. In the beginning of winter the ocean is not so cold as at the commencement of summer, subsequent to the tedious long winter in those parts. The winds in the Icy Sea are very boisterous, and, when they blow over the large fields of ice there, intolerably cold. Easterly winds also are more common in the Arctic Circle than any other. The same too has been remarked before in the Antarctic polar regions. Fogs are in these climates very common, and consequently render the navigation there very dangerous. These fogs by their pressure keep down all the vapours which would otherwise rise up into the atmosphere; for which reason they have frequently an
offensive

offensive smell.—Thunder and lightning are very rare in these parts; partly by reason that the northern lights, which often are very frequent, consume and waste the electrical exhalations, and partly because in a region covered with eternal snow, from whence but a trifling quantity of snow melts away in the space of several days, the electric matter cannot possibly rise from the earth in any considerable quantity, and collect in order to form the matter of thunder and lightning. The trifling portion which appears in tempests, is thrown into the air from the volcanos in these regions.—The abundance of mists and vapours, which are in part frozen, and fill the whole atmosphere, serves likewise to make one phenomenon more frequent and common here than it is elsewhere. Paraheliums and mock moons are seen very frequently in the north, insomuch that they have been remarked by many travellers. These very vapours, which in the atmosphere so greatly abound, serve also the beneficial purpose of exhibiting the joyous light of the sun in these dreary and melancholy regions almost a fortnight sooner above the horizon than could possibly be done, were the atmosphere in a different state: consequently they contribute to shorten the dismal nights in these countries, and to enliven nature, rendered absolutely torpid by the deadening blasts of winter.

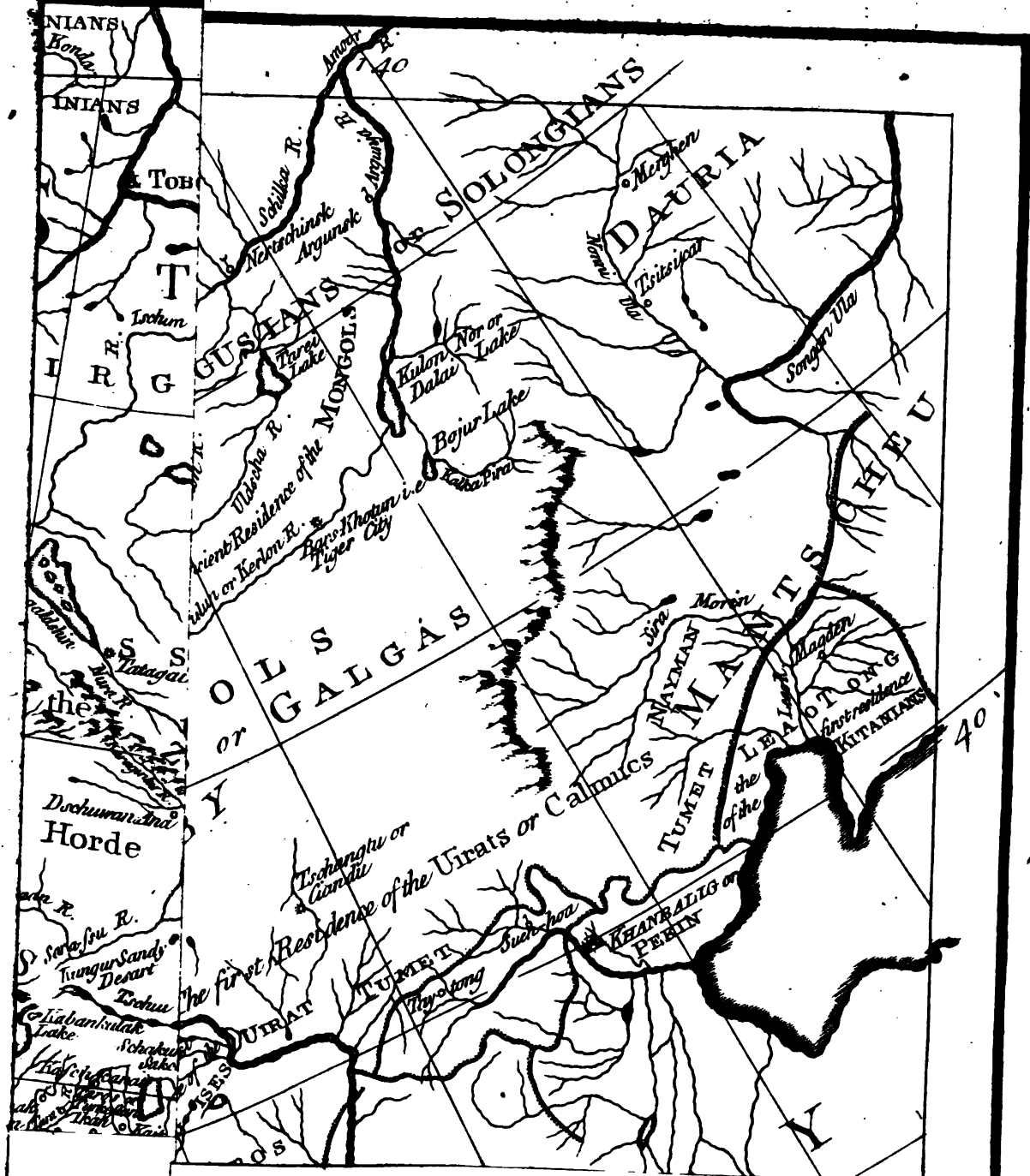
It must be true, the animated organized creation is scattered with a sparing hand in these dreary climates. The surface of the earth is covered with but few plants, and even those which nature has in her bounty bestowed upon it, cling close to it, fearing, as it were, to raise their heads from the bosom of their mother into the air, totally deprived, as it is, of warmth, and shrinking from the deadly blasts of the north and east winds. Nay, the earth itself is unprepared

pared and unfit to receive and harbour the plants committed to her care. Bare and naked rocks, with a calm intrepidity, present their callous fronts to the attacks of the all-ravaging frost; during the greatest part of the year, indeed, they are covered by a thick bed of snow. Consequently they are preserved for a long time without mouldering, and undestroyed. Rain, wind, and heat, alternating with frost; but above all, the effects of heat and the fixed air floating in the atmosphere, contribute to dissolve and destroy by degrees the hardest and most solid rocks in temperate and warm climates. The fixed air, accompanied by heat, penetrates deep into the substance of the stones, and dissolves small particles of them, which the rains and wind wash away and carry to a distance, and by this means make the surface of the earth continually more and more capable of receiving and harbouring plants, and all kinds of vegetables. In this earth, from a small seed brought to it by the wind, at first there is generated a diminutive moss, which spreading by degrees, with its tender and minute texture, which, however, resists the most intense cold, extends over the whole a verdant velvet carpet. In fact, these mosses are the midwives and nurses of the other inhabitants of the vegetable kingdom. The bottom parts of the mosses which perish and moulder away yearly, mingling with the dissolved but as yet crude parts of the earth, communicate to it organized particles, which contribute to the growth and nourishment of other plants: they likewise yield salts and unguinous phlogistic particles for the nourishment of future vegetable colonies. The seeds of other plants, which the sea and winds, or else the birds in their plumage, bring from distant shores, and scatter among the mosses, are kindly, and with a truly maternal care screened by them from the cold, imbued with the moisture which they have stored up for this very purpose, and nourished with their oily exhalations; so that they grow, increase, and at length bear seeds, and after-

wards dying, add to the unguinous nutritive particles of the earth, and at the same time diffuse over this new earth and mosses, more seeds, the earnest of a numerous posterity. Here let us stop for a moment to consider these productions of the vegetable world in a nearer point of view. They are, as we have already observed, planted with a sparing hand in these northern regions, not because nature acts the part of a step-mother by them, but because the severity of the cold in these climates disturbs and puts a stop to her operations, and consequently makes her employ ages to produce effects, for which she has scarcely a few years allowed her under the benign influence of the sun in milder regions. Yet even here is Nature the same indulgent parent. On the few dwarfish plants that are to be found in these regions the animals thrive astonishingly; even the liverworts (*lichen rangiferinus* & *islandicus*) possess uncommonly nutritive qualities, and make the animals which feed on them, fat in a short time. On the very shores scurvy-grass, and other plants of this class, present themselves to seafaring persons infected with putrid fevers, and with their invigorating juices, put a stop, in the space of a few days, to the ravages of the scurvy.

And however unpromising these regions may appear, yet neither the sea nor land are destitute of objects, which, besides an organic structure, have the power of voluntary motion and of consciousness. From the corals to the mammalia, every class of animals has its representative in this otherwise inhospitable climate. Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, and Greenland, have even their reindeer, their white bears, and grey foxes; and the country lying to the northward of Hudson's Bay is inhabited by the bisam ox. Hares, mice, and *gluttons*, also are indigenous in some of these regions. The sea swarms with various sorts of whales and dolphins; while its shores and the dreary fields of ice that float upon it, serve as a habitation to the numerous species of seals, to which the depth of the ocean in the immense number of its inhabitants presents an abundance of food. Of all these northern regions
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the northern coast of Siberia alone is constantly inhabited by mankind, if we except America as far as Hudson's Bay and Greenland. The bodies of this race of men are contracted, as it were, by the cold. They are of a brownish red complexion, their hair is lank, stiff, and black. Their food is fish, seals, and whales, and train-oil is their greatest delicacy. Their ideas are, according to our way of thinking, very confined; yet they manifest in the formation of many of their implements, and articles of house-furniture, a skill, a dexterity, and capacity, which at first sight, one would not be apt to imagine they possessed. The complaints we frequently hear of their perfidiousness and cruelty, are entirely groundless. The Europeans, indeed, have often, by acts of violence, by murder, and the perpetration of the greatest cruelties, drawn upon themselves the vengeance of these kind-hearted, hospitable people, and, at length, taught them mistrust. They fulfil the duties of parents with tenderness, resolution, and care, and in circumstances in which thousands of Europeans would neglect their charge. Amidst dangers, amidst the most piercing frosts, snow, and winds, they venture out to sea in small leathern boats to provide food for their children. In short, the more we attend to these objects, the more evidently we shall perceive in all parts the traces of the providence, goodness, and wisdom of a supreme being, who dispenses his benefits over the whole universe, and manifests the utmost sagacity and intelligence in the accomplishment of his purposes; all which in persons of susceptible and feeling hearts excites the warmest sentiments of gratitude and adoration, and affecting them with the tenderest emotions, draws from their eyes tears of heart-felt joy and admiration. *O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men!*



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E R R A T A.

- Page 4, l. 13, for establishment, read form.
 — 8, l. 1, for warehouse, read storehouse.
 — 40, l. 11 from bottom, for Holaku Chan, read Holaghu Khan.
 — 53, l. 10, for Ormefta, read Hormefta.
 — 65, l. 7, before translated, read has.
 — 70, l. 15, the parenthesis should include Fionia.
 — 75, l. 19, dele and.
 — 83, l. 22, for mother, read brother.
 — 84, l. 1, for Nifs, read Nefs.
 — 85, l. 2 from bottom, for tohography, read topography.
 — 87, l. 16, for every where, read all over the country.
 — 91, l. 14, for Zuka, read Zakut.
 — 92, l. 6 from bottom, for Holanghu, read Holaghu.
 — 98, l. 11 from bottom, for martmurt, read Mari murt.
 — 101, l. 16, dele to.
 — 104, l. 16, for Travels into Russia, read Account of the Russian Discoveries.
 — 106, l. 2, for Kara Korum, read Karakorum.
 — 126, l. 14, for Fal confus, read Falco nifus.
 — 138, l. 6 from bottom, for Kathey, read Kathay.
 — 140, l. 16, before the great, read in.
 — 144, l. 22, for Zinhis Chan, read Zinghis Khan.
 — 158, l. 15, prefix XI.
 — 174, l. 4, for Mawaralnchara, read Mawaralnahara.
 — 182, l. 6 from bottom, for John, read son.
 — 128, l. 5 from bottom, for truth, read fact.
 — 201, l. 1, for Westburn, read Westbora.
 — 211, l. 19, for without bounds or limitation, read without limits or moderation.
 — 218, l. 11, for Sandee, read Sand-oe.
 — 242, l. 4 from bottom, for ^{انلق} read ^{انلق} and l. 19, for Dschhankfchi, read Dschhankfchi.
 — Ibid l. 6 from bottom, for ^{انلق} read ^{انلق}.
 — 246, l. 19, for Mehemet Hadfchi, read Hadfchi Mehemet.
 — 308, l. ult. before point, read this.
 — 341, l. ult. after truth, read to support it.
 — Ibid, l. 3 from bottom, place the asterik higher up after refusal.
 — 348, l. ult. for this, read his.
 — 383, l. 12 from bottom, before Bear Sound, dele the.
 — 385, l. 3 from bottom, for Comfort Carner, read Point Comfort.
 — 408, l. 8 from bottom, for dumdivers, read dun divers.
 — 415, l. 9 from bottom, read Sconce, or Fort-Point.
 — 425, l. 10, for Jesse, read Jeso.
 — 455, l. 14, for e, read y.
 — 463, l. 2 from bottom, for Deschnew, read Deshneff.
 — 470, l. 19, for Deer's Island, read Rehe-or Deer-Island.

